

# CURRENT HISTORY

VOL. XXI.

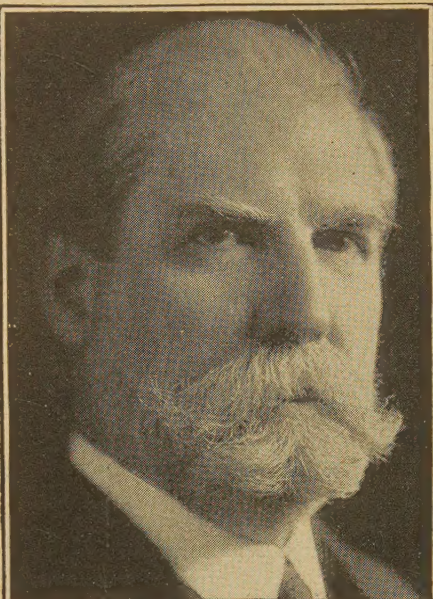
FEBRUARY, 1925

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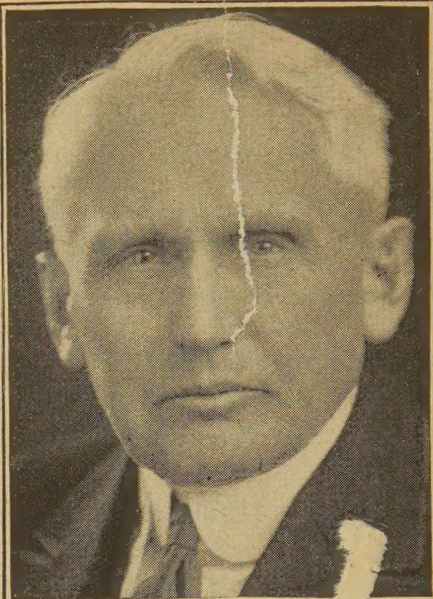
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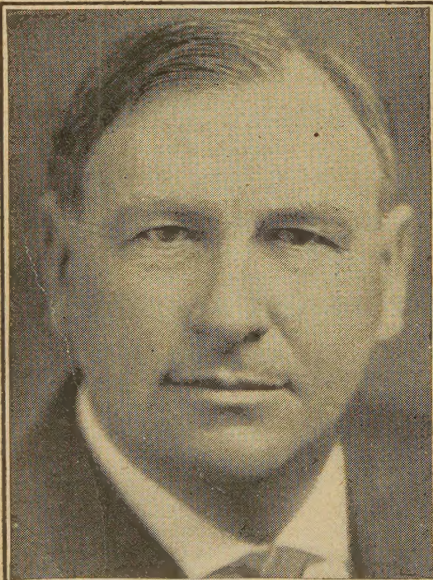
CHARLES E. HUGHES

Who has unexpectedly resigned his office of Secretary of State as from March 4, 1925



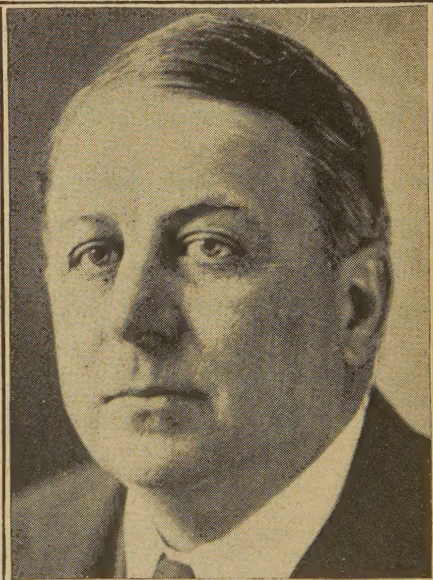
FRANK B. KELLOGG

Ambassador to Great Britain, who has been appointed Secretary of State as from March 4, 1925



HARLAN F. STONE

Who has ceased to be Attorney General on appointment as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court



CHARLES B. WARREN

Who has been appointed Attorney General in succession to Harlan F. Stone

## CHANGES IN THE UNITED STATES CABINET



# Trotsky's Attack on the Soviet Rulers

By ELIAS TOBENKIN

European Correspondent New York Tribune, 1918-19; Correspondent in Eastern Europe for New York Evening Post, 1920; Author of "Witte Arrives", "God of Might" and Other Novels. Mr. Tobenkin was born in Russia

INTRODUCTORY NOTE—Leon Trotsky, long Minister of War in the Soviet Government and one of the most commanding figures of the Bolshevik régime established by the second 1917 revolution, has fallen from grace in the Soviet councils. Bitterly attacked and discredited as a heretical interpreter of Communist doctrine, he has been relegated to obscurity on the pretext of a leave of absence ostensibly required by considerations of health. Whether he was still in the Kremlin or in the Crimea remained for some time uncertain, but recent dispatches indicated that he was still in Moscow early in January. What is certain is that his pronouncedly individual views regarding the Bolshevik revolution, the personality of its chief leaders and the policy followed by them up to and following Lenin's death and to the present have produced one of the greatest sensations yet recorded in the annals of the Soviet Government.

This attack was expressed in Trotsky's recently issued and now famous book "1917," printed as a separate volume of his collected writings, and in other recent works. Contrary to general belief, there is no evidence that the "heretical" attacks of Trotsky have actually produced a schism in the Soviet councils capable, at least for the time being, of leading to a collapse or civil strife. Nor was the book "1917" ever officially suppressed. The merciless criticism of Zinoviev and Kamenev for crass errors of judgment prior to the October revolution, the logical consequence of which errors, had these leaders' views been followed, might have been to turn the Bolshevik revolution into a disastrous failure, was made much of by Trotsky in "1917." Attacks on these and other prominent leaders, combined with what cannot be denied as obvious self-glorification and vanity—one of the War Minister's pronounced characteristics—alienated most of Trotsky's former friends and associates, and he stands today in a most unenviable position, broken in health, shorn of prestige and power, a baffled man, impotent to achieve his alleged ambition to take Lenin's mantle of leadership upon his own shoulders.

That the whole position of Trotsky on Soviet policy has deep-lying roots, and that it may be traced back at least as far as the year 1903, was made clear by a report presented by Kamenev at a meeting of the Moscow committee of the Communist Party and published in the Moscow press on Nov. 26, 1924. According to Kamenev, the theoretical controversy between Leninism and Trotskyism had its origin in the conflicts of opinion within the old Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, notably at the London Congress of 1903, when Lenin, following the split on tactics, founded the Bolshevik or Communist Party. It should not be forgotten that Trotsky, before his conversion to Bolshevism, was a Menshevik. In other words, Lenin and his adherents favored revolution, Trotsky and his group evolution.

Kamenev charged that Trotsky failed to understand the basic core of Lenin's theory of the interrelation of the working class and the peasantry both in the first and the second revolution. Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, he declared, "makes the working class movement of Russia dependent on the immediate proletarian revolution in the West." Kamenev ends with the charge that "Trotsky has become a channel through which the elements of the petty bourgeoisie are gaining expression within our party.

\* \* \* He has already become the symbol for breaking loose from the ferrule of the



Communist Party. \* \* \* Both Stalin and Zinoviev in statements on other occasions severely criticized the "new Trotskyism," and numerous articles in the Soviet press have lashed it mercilessly. Stalin's report "Trotskyism ily Leninism" (Trotskyism or Leninism), published by the Soviet Government in pamphlet form, emphasizes the strictures of Kamenev and attacks Trotsky for advocating a view that "spells distrust to Bolshevik partisanship, to its unity of composition and its hostility to opportunist elements. \* \* \* Trotskyism is distrust of the leaders of Bolshevism and an attempt to discredit them." Zinoviev declared that it was necessary for the party to take measures to insure the party against repetitions of the "raids" against Leninism. The slogan of today, he asserted, was the Bolshevization of all strata of the Communist Party; "a struggle against Trotsky in the field of ideas."

In the Government pamphlet entitled "Kak ne nůzhno pisat intóriyu Oktyabryá" ("How not to write the history of the October revolution"), with direct reference to "1917" (reprinted from Pravda of Nov. 2, 1924), Trotsky's book and his whole doctrine are relentlessly analyzed from the Communist Party's viewpoint. Trotsky's introduction is made the target of merciless criticism. The pamphlet declares categorically that Trotsky's book was written not merely for the Russian reader but for the "information" of Communist comrades abroad. The fear of its potential influence in alienating the sympathies of party members from the successors to Lenin's policies in Russia is clearly revealed. The details of Trotsky's whole attack on the Soviet leaders are given in the article published herewith.—EDITOR CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

WITHIN a space of twelve months Russia's two leaders, with whose names the Bolshevik revolution has become synonymous, have left the arena. Lenin died early in 1924 only to be reborn again as the god of Bolshevism. Trotsky, in the last weeks of the year just past, was hissed into obscurity by the charge that he had become the very "Antichrist" of Communism.

For dramatic interest the dethronement of Leon Trotsky by his Bolshevik confrères has not many parallels in history. In a burst of disapproval of Trotsky's "heresies" and his divergence from the accepted tenets and, more especially, policies of the Communist Party, his "brother gods" on the Bolshevik Olympus, the Kremlin, have decided upon the War Minister's pillory and exile, upon his absolute political death—if this becomes necessary. Stripped of his power and of his honors, his health broken, his nearest friends uttering no word in his defense, the builder of Russia's Red Army and its commander-in-chief during the years of revolution, counter-revolution and civil war is today, in effect, if not in name, a prisoner either in the milder climate of the Crimea, to which his doctors ordered him early in December, or still in the Kremlin, which, according

to persistent rumor, Trotsky is unwilling to leave.

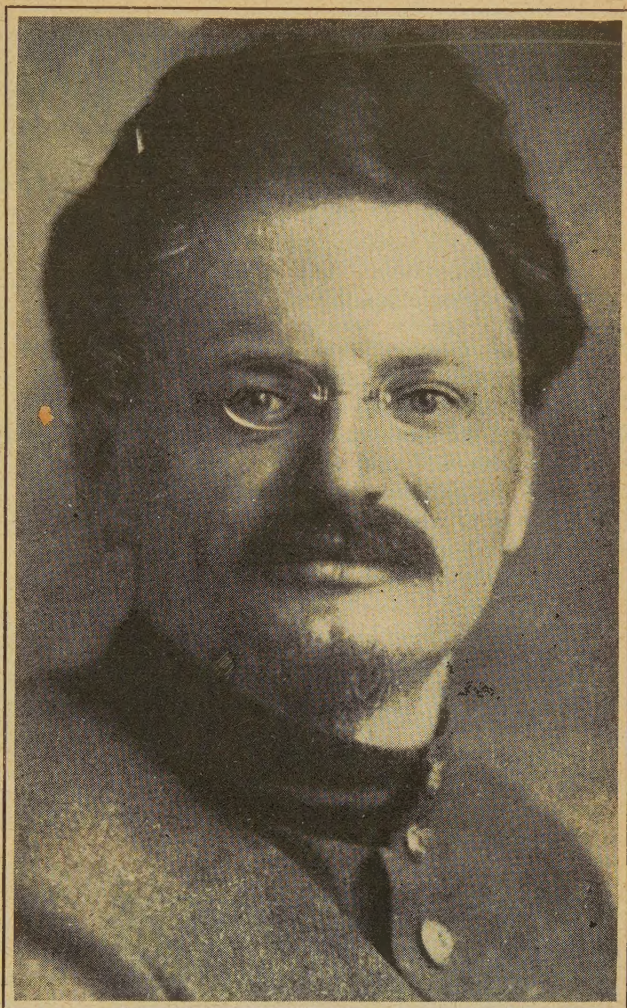
The wheel upon which Trotsky's career, and possibly his very life, is being broken is his latest book, "1917," a two-volume history of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, named after the year in which it took place. Trotsky is as brilliant a writer as he is a revolutionist. In fact it is his language, written and spoken, that is among his most decisive revolutionary weapons. In "1917," and more especially in its sixty-two page preface entitled "Lessons of October," Trotsky attempts a critical analysis of the revolution. It is what Trotsky the writer says about Trotsky the revolutionist, and still more what he says about the other actors in the revolution, some of them his antagonists, that has caused the War Minister's associates to chain him to the rock of pitiless publicity and to tear his reputation to tatters.

Without waiting for time to set the various events in the revolution in their proper perspective, Trotsky plunges heedlessly into a "reevaluation of values." He proceeds to regroup and reclassify parties and individuals. He gives additional credit to some of the figures in the revolution and detracts



from others. He takes the measure of his contemporaries and he takes his own measure. He paints their portraits and his own. It is here, Trotsky's enemies declare, that he has laid bare the weak spot in his armor—his vanity. The most unforgivable charge against Trotsky by his associates is that he measured himself, his rôle as an actor in the revolution, with the utmost liberality, while his measure of others is said to be grudging and ungenerous.

This is declared to have happened especially in Trotsky's estimate of Zinoviev and Kamenev, the two strongest claimants for the "mantle of Lenin." Zinoviev was Lenin's lifelong disciple, both in Russia and in exile. Lenin lavished upon him the affection one might upon a younger brother, persistently pushing him to the front as a leader. Kamenev, who is Trotsky's brother-in-law, was in close personal relations with Lenin before the revolution and he lived and fought side by side with him during the "October days." Subsequently the two were closely associated in the Kremlin, Kamenev holding the important post of Chairman of the Moscow Soviet of Workmen and Peasants. In his preface to "1917" Trotsky concentrates his criticism upon Zinoviev and Kamenev as upon no other two revolutionary leaders—and in the most damaging manner. A few weeks before the Bolshevik coup d'état of Oct. 25 (Nov. 7, new style), the two, Zinoviev and Kamenev, had made a "mistake," which has since be-



Gilliams

Trotsky as he appears in a recent portrait study

come famous. They had opposed the idea of a coup d'état. Lenin was for it. Trotsky and the other members of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party were for it. Zinoviev and Kamenev alone were against such a step. Trotsky's presentation of this matter in his book, it is charged, is such as to belittle the revolutionary judgment and statesmanship as well as the personal courage of two of the men who now play most important parts in ruling Soviet Russia.



## OFFICIAL REPUDIATION

Thirty-five thousand copies of "1917" had left the Government Printing Office, and it was fast becoming the most widely read book of the day, when the Communist Party took notice of it and in a public statement, which appeared in Pravda on Nov. 2, 1924, officially repudiated it as a polemic rather than a work of information. The youth of Russia and Communists the world over were warned against taking Trotsky's "Lessons of October" at their face value. They were told to disregard both Trotsky's "facts" and his "conclusions." The one and the other were branded as equally "incorrect" and equally "subversive of the interests of Bolshevism." The book as a whole was declared to be a "crooked mirror" and a "caricature," violently opposed to the spirit of "true Leninism." Trotsky was charged with a premeditated effort at substituting his own ideas, or "Trotskyism," in place of the ideas of Lenin, or "Leninism," and of belittling the rôle of the Communist Party in the revolution. While apparently not officially suppressed, the circulation of "1917," both at home and abroad, has ceased. The

repudiation published in Pravda read in part as follows:

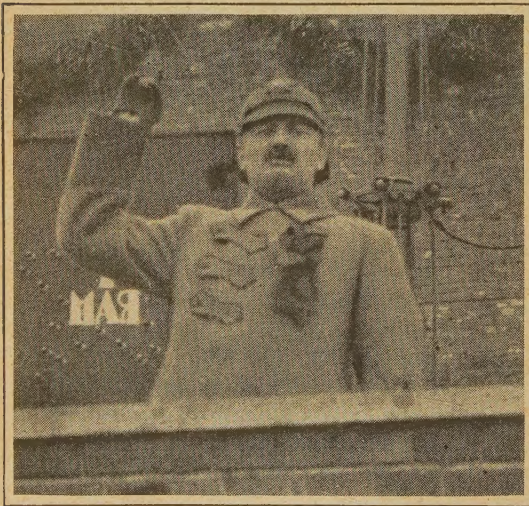
It is a poor service that Trotsky accomplishes with this book. It is not the sort of book that will attract people to Bolshevism. It is, on the contrary, apt to make converts the other way. It is a one-sided book and at times monstrously untrue. \* \* \* Comrade Trotsky may rest assured that the party will know how to appraise his efforts in this book. What the party wants is work and not new discussions. What the party wants is whole-hearted Bolshevik unity.

Trotsky's resurrection of the Zinoviev-Kamenev "mistake" is referred to with smoldering resentment:

These mistakes are known to the whole party. In his "History of the Russian Communist Party" and in his earlier appearances Comrade Zinoviev has spoken of the matter not once, but many times. He has spoken of it also before the Communist International. Comrade Lenin also discussed the matter. He never connected the mistakes before the October revolution with the activities of the comrades during and after the revolution. Lenin himself appointed Kamenev and Zinoviev to important posts immediately after the revolution and repeatedly indicated that he did not look upon their mistakes in October as anything other than a difference of opinion, which he did not justify, but at the same time did not hold against them.

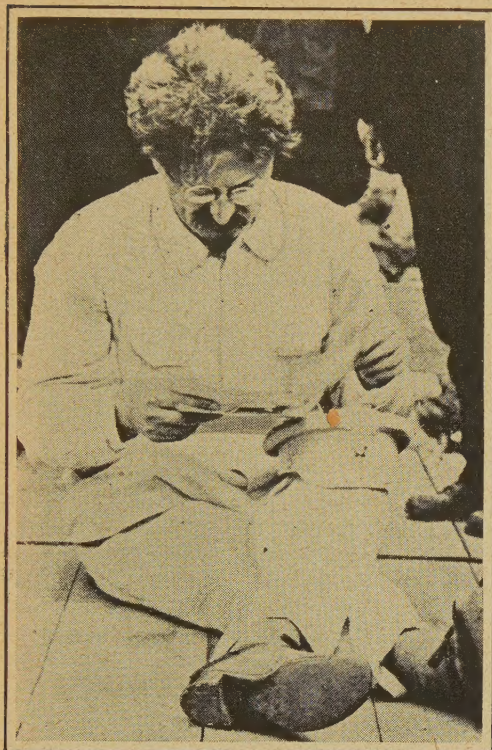
The fierce passions which have been set loose by the publication of Trotsky's "1917" can be understood and accounted for only in the light of Russian history during the last twenty years, the birth and growth of the Bolshevik or Communist Party and of Trotsky's relation to it, first as an amused opponent, later as an active and brilliant member, and lastly as a crusader for the party's reorganization along more democratic and flexible lines.

The control of the Communist Party in Russia rests with a committee of seven, known as the Political Bureau, of which Trotsky is a member, the others being Stalin, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Tomskey and Rykov.



Trotsky, standing on a balcony of the Kremlin walls, addressing troops in the Red Square on May Day, 1924





A snapshot of Trotsky sitting on the floor of the platform before addressing a meeting of workmen in Moscow recently

Rykov is busy with his affairs as Premier of Russia, Bukharin edits Pravda and Tomsy is a labor leader, so that Stalin, Zinoviev and Kameney are the real spokesmen of the party. They, too, are what might be termed charter members of the Bolshevik or Communist Party, which was founded in 1903 by Lenin and a group of followers. Trotsky, who is opposed to them in theory and general outlook, was not a member of the Lenin party, or group, as it was at the time. He was in disagreement with a number of its principles, notably the stress which Lenin laid on the peasants as a factor in the coming revolution in Russia. Trotsky, more of a city man, directed his revolutionary plans and propaganda chiefly among the factory workers. The war, however, lifted the Russian peasantry to a plane of revolutionary impor-

tance equal to that of the urban proletariat in Russia. Trotsky, being a realist, saw this, and in the Summer of 1917 buried his differences with Lenin, which had been deep and bitter, leading Lenin to call Trotsky the hardest of names. But from now on the two worked side by side, Trotsky becoming Lenin's right-hand man.

#### "COMMUNIST ORTHODOXY"

With the progress of Bolshevism in Russia from a war basis to that of peace, the Communist Party leadership experienced a theoretic cleavage with regard to its future methods and management. Stalin, Kameney and Zinoviev thought it essential for the growth and well-being of the Bolshevik movement that a spirit of what has been termed hierarchy be maintained, a spirit of "Communist orthodoxy," of unquestioned compliance by the newer men in the party with decisions of the "old guard." They became the "hundred percenters" of Communism, making membership in the Communist Party prior to 1917 a sort of revolutionary patent of nobility and a passport to positions of trust in the party and notably in the Government of Russia. Trotsky represented a more democratic view. He pleaded for greater flexibility and democracy in the management of party affairs. The cleavage between the "young" and the "old" generations in the party, the War Minister urged, must be minimized. The experience of the veterans of the revolution, he said, could not be too highly valued, but the enthusiasm and strength of youth should be wedded to this revolutionary experience. Young men should be given positions of responsibility in the party. They should be given a voice in all deliberations. They should help frame policies and not merely accept such policies after they had been laid down for the rank and file by the few men at the top.



The climax of this controversy was reached during November and December, 1923, when Trotsky, in a series of articles entitled "The New Course," called for action on the question by the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party, which was to be held in January. The War Minister fired his last broadside in this controversy on Dec. 29, 1923. In an article in *Pravda* of that date he pictured the growing bureaucracy and officialism within the Communist Party as undermining its very foundations. "There are dangerous signs of officialism in our party," he wrote: "Our war bureaucracy was of childlike proportions compared with the bureaucracy that has grown up during the years of peace. Dut to the stubbornness of the controlling organization at the head, our party has become a two-story affair. On the upper floor the few make the decisions for the party. On the lower floor the rank and file of the membership is handed down the decisions made." Trotsky's call received a wide response, not alone from the rank and file, but also from a considerable number of party leaders. At the thirteenth congress of the Communist Party in January, 1924, the issues raised in "The New Course" precipitated one of the bitterest debates the party had ever known. The clamor for the revision of party policies was clearly gaining in volume.

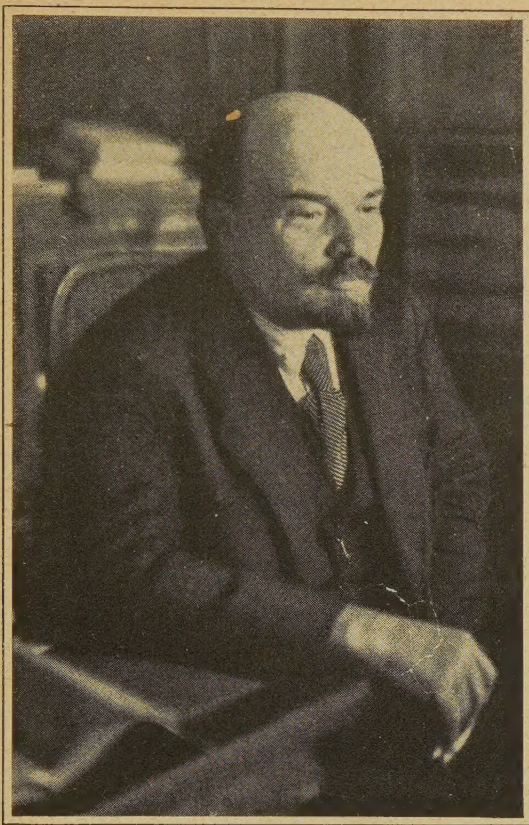
Lenin's sudden death put an end to every other demand except one—the demand for unity—which the party needed most. Trotsky, who was at the time in the Caucasus recuperating from a lingering illness, acquiesced in a temporary cessation of the controversy. When the War Minister months later returned to Moscow he found that the issue had not only been shelved but that the whole discussion had been suppressed by the Zinoviev-Stalin-Kamenev faction in the party. The adherents of democracy within the party either had been made to change their views or else they found themselves removed from positions where they could influence party policies and decisions. It is the

reopening of this party controversy over democratization, Trotsky's opponents assert, that the War Minister had in view in writing "1917." His treatment in the book of the Zinoviev-Kamenev "mistake" just before the Bolshevik coup d'état of 1917 and the "lessons" Trotsky draws from this "mistake," his critics charge, are not history, but propaganda. The War Minister, they declared, was aiming to bring about a party split either because of mistaken ideology or from motives of sheer egotism and revenge. The version in the introduction to "1917" of the now famous Zinoviev-Kamenev mistake is as follows:

#### THE ZINOVIEV-KAMENEV "MISTAKE"

On Oct. 10 (Oct. 23, New Style), 1917—that is, two weeks before the Bolshevik revolution took place—the Central Committee of the Communist Party held its regular session at Petrograd. Present at the session were Lenin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Stalin, Trotsky, Sverdlov, Uritsky, Dzerzhinsky, Kollontai, Bubnov, Sokolnikov and Lomov. The matter under discussion was the setting in motion of an immediate armed uprising against the Kerensky Government. There was considerable debate about details, and especially about the military divisions and garri- sons likely to answer the call of the Bolshevik leaders. Lenin finally took the floor and framed the resolution for this armed uprising. A vote was taken. The resolution was carried by 10 votes to 2. The two who voted against the immediate armed uprising were Zinoviev and Kamenev. This, however, was not yet the whole "mistake" of the two. That was to come the following day. The next day, Oct. 11, not content with voting against Lenin's proposed armed uprising, Zinoviev and Kamenev stated their objections to such a course in a letter which they sent out to the principal Bolshevik organizations in Petrograd, hoping to counteract the decision for an immediate armed uprising as adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party. Trot-





One of the most interesting photographs of Lenin, taken in his office in Moscow

sky spreads this Zinoviev-Kamenev letter over a number of pages, quoting single phrases or sentences from it and interspersing these quotations with his own interpretations and comments. The more salient parts of the letter inveighing against the proposed armed uprising, as given in "1917," are the following:

We are deeply convinced that to declare a state of open war against the Government at this time is to throw into the balance not only the fate of our party but also the fate of the Russian and International revolution. \* \* \*

Through the army, through the workers' organizations, we are holding a revolver against the temple of the bourgeoisie. \* \* \*

The chances of our party at the elections to the Constitutional Assembly are excellent. \* \* \* The influence of Bolshevism is growing. \* \* \* With the employment of cor-

rect tactics we shall be able to receive one-third and possibly more seats in the Constitutional Assembly. \* \* \*

The Soviets, having penetrated into life, will not permit themselves to be destroyed. \* \* \* Only the Soviets will the Constitutional Assembly be able to base its revolution. \* \* \* A Constitutional Assembly for the Soviets—such is the form of government of instance which we are advancing.

Only the majority of the population of Russia and a considerable part of the soldiers are for us. The rest [of the population of the country] is in question. For instance, we are all convinced that if the elections to the Constitutional Assembly take place the majority of the peasants will vote for the Socialist-Revolutionists. \* \* \*

The great mass of soldiers supports us, not upon the slogan of war, but upon the slogan of peace. \* \* \* If we, having taken over the reins of government, are compelled by sheer force of world events to enter upon a revolutionary war, the mass of soldiers will abandon us. There will remain with us, of course, the best parts of the younger army elements, but the mass of soldiers will go from us. \* \* \*

Every one who is not merely intent on talking about an armed uprising must weigh carefully the risk of such a step. And exactly here we consider it our duty to state that at the present moment nothing could be more harmful than to understate the strength of our adversary and to overstate our own strength. Petrograd will decide, and in Petrograd our adversaries are numerous: 5,000 junkers, excellently armed, well organized, knowing how to fight and anxious to fight in view of the situation in which their class is placed; then there are the General Staff, the Cossacks; there is an important part of the garrison, an equally important part of the artillery which encircles Petrograd, and then our opponents, with the aid of the Central Executive Committee, will almost surely try to bring the army from the front. \* \* \*

Other equally powerful passages in the famous Zinoviev-Kamenev letter, breathing most irreconcilable opposition to Lenin's insistence of "Now or



never" and to his insistence for an immediate armed insurrection against the Kerensky Government, are cited by Trotsky:

It would be a deep, historic untruth to put the question of the assumption of the power by the proletariat in a manner of "Now or never." The party of the proletariat is not a program which will become more and more adapted to the masses. \* \* \* There is only one way in which the party can defeat its own enemies, and that is if the party, in the present circumstances, takes the initiative in launching upon an offensive campaign. \* \* \* In this ruinous policy we lift our voice in warning. \* \* \*

The most decisive question is this: Are the workers and the soldiers of the capital [Petrograd] in a frame of mind to see their only salvation in street uprisings? Are they eager for such street encounters? No, they are not in any such frame of mind. \* \* \* The existence among the poverty-stricken masses in the capital of such a frame of mind, one eager for such street encounters, would have been a guarantee that the initiative once taken by these masses would also draw to itself the larger and more important organizations of workmen, such as the railroad workers and post and telegraph employees, upon whom the influence of our party is very light. But, since such a frame of mind is not even to be found among factory workers and in the barracks, it would indeed be nothing but self-deception to make such calculations.

#### TROTSKY'S PURPOSE

In entering upon his long dissertation on the Zinoviev-Kamenev "mistake" of opposing an armed uprising two weeks before this uprising successfully overthrew the Kerensky régime and won the revolution for Bolshevism, Trotsky disclaims all desire to utilize their attitude in the past as a weapon against these leaders. Yet this is precisely what he does, both directly and by implication. He states and restates the fact that at the critical moment in the history of the proletarian revolution in Russia their judgment failed them, not their sincerity, not their devotion, but their ability to gauge a political trend. At the supreme moment of the revolution, Trotsky declares, Zinoviev and Kamenev underestimated

the strength of the revolution to such an extent that they denied the existence of a revolutionary sentiment among the masses, and at the same time they overestimated the strength of opposition out of all proportion. Here are Trotsky's own words:

Imagine what would have happened if the opponents of an armed insurrection had had the upper hand in the party in the Central Executive Committee. The revolution would at the very outset have been condemned to failure. Lenin might have appealed from the decision of the Executive Committee to the rank and file of the party, as he was at one time ready to do. And no doubt he would have been successful in his appeal. But not every party would under similar circumstances give the same sort of an answer to its Lenin. \* \* \* It is not difficult to imagine how history would have been written if in the Central Committee the side which was disinclined to fight had won. Official historians would of course present matters in such a light as would make it clear that an armed uprising in October, 1917, would have been sheer madness. They would have given the reader erudite statistical charts enumerating all sorts of junkers, Cossacks, army corps coming from the front. Not having been tested in the fire of attack, the supposed strength of the enemy would have appeared much greater than it was in reality. Such is the lesson which every revolutionist must engrave on his conscience.

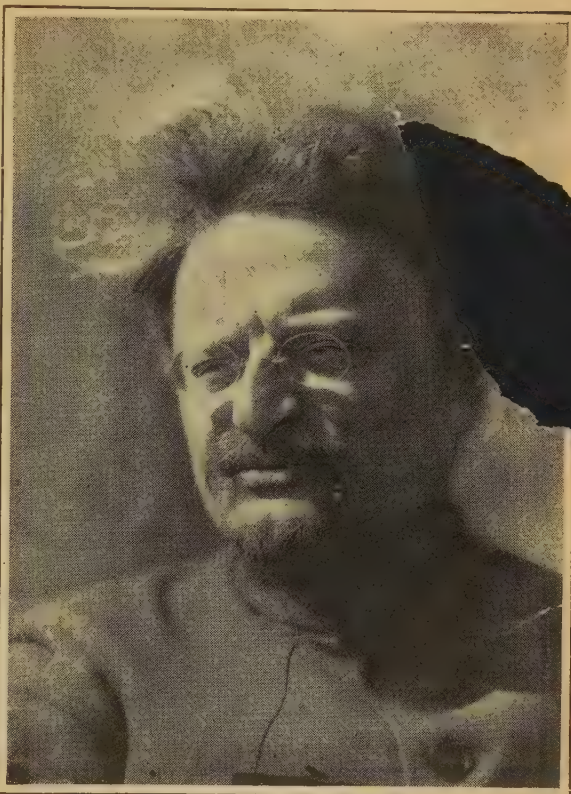
From this point on, Trotsky, his opponents assert, departs completely from the high road of history, which he has been following more or less irregularly, and enters irrevocably on the by-path of polemics. By skillful grouping and regrouping of revolutionary events in Russia and in Europe, it is pointed out, Trotsky builds up an atmosphere of suspicion and questioning toward Zinoviev in particular. Trotsky indicates that the "mistake" made in 1917 of underestimating the latent revolutionary forces in the country and of opposing Lenin's demand for an immediate military uprising has again and again been repeated by Zinoviev, who is the head of the Third, or Communist, International as well as one of the triumvirate that directs the Communist party in Russia. As the head of



the Third International it is Zinoviev's business to gauge revolutionary signs in countries other than Russia. Trotsky holds Zinoviev responsible for the failure of the Communist uprisings in Germany and Bulgaria in 1923 because he underestimated the revolutionary forces in those countries at that time just as he underestimated the revolutionary trend in Russia in 1917. In Russia the revolution was "saved" by Lenin, who overruled Zinoviev, but in those other countries where there was no Lenin to overrule him the attempts to bring about a Bolshevik revolution failed. Says Trotsky:

We have had in the last year [1923] plenty of convincing proof that our October experience [the Bolshevik revolution of Oct. 25, Old Style; Nov. 7, New Style] had not sufficiently entered into the blood and marrow of even those Western countries that have fairly ripe Communist parties, that it is in fact unknown to them in its more-fundamental aspects. \* \* \* We have suffered in the past year two severe defeats in Bulgaria. At first the party, because of its doctrinaire fatalistic mode of reasoning, overlooked an exceptionally favorable moment for revolutionary action [the uprising of the peasants after the Tsankov upheaval in June]. Then, trying to correct the mistake, the party threw all its energies into the September revolt without sufficiently preparing the political and economic essentials for such an uprising.

The Bulgarian revolution was supposed to serve as a sort of a wedge for the German revolution. Unfortunately the ineffective Bulgarian attempt was paralleled by an even worse state of affairs in Germany. We saw in Germany in the second half of the past year [1923] a classic demonstration of the fact that it is possible to lose a very exceptional revolutionary situation of world-wide historic significance. Nor have we yet given ourselves an adequate and concrete account



A photograph of Trotsky taken in the early part of 1924

for these revolutionary failures in Germany and Bulgaria.

#### WHOLESALE DENUNCIATION

Zinoviev and Kamenev are not the only Russian Communist leaders who come in for condemnation by Trotsky in his book "1917." Most of the members of the Executive Committee of the party, he declares, were, on more than one occasion during the months before the coup d'état, at odds with Lenin over his policy and tactics, thinking them too rash and fearing that this recklessness would invite disaster rather than success. Trotsky implies that he was the only one who fully grasped the workings of Lenin's mind, agreeing with and upholding him in every crisis:

Lenin on his arrival in Russia [from his exile in Switzerland] made a quick survey of the situation and decided what course t'



Russian revolution must take. He was for the unconditional overthrow of the Provisional Government. But for several months he kept this slogan to himself, waiting to spring at the moment when it would find the greatest number of adherents. \* \* \* Following such an attack on the Provisional Government, Trotsky was to take immediately the same line of argument through the Soviets, to the revolutionary peace policy and to the program of a Socialist Revolution in the country and of international revolution abroad.

and again, Trotsky asserts, he had to bring pressure to bear on the members of the Executive Committee of the Communist, or Bolshevik Party, as it was then known, to adopt his views, the majority of the committee having been inclined to be much less daring and determined in the revolutionary advance than was Lenin. If this revival of the Zinoviev-Kamenev "mistake" intensified the breach which had long existed between them and Trotsky, the version given by the War Minister of the disagreements, if not actual clashes, between the entire Central Committee of the Communist Party and Lenin lost for him nearly every friend he had ever had among the "Old Guard" of the revolution.

#### STALIN'S COMMENT

For months Trotsky's "1917" has been the object of a denunciation to which few books have been subjected. Endless columns have been filled with articles in the Communist newspapers—and all newspapers in Russia are Communist—for the purpose of minimizing Trotsky's statements and charges. The book has been variously characterized. Its brilliancy is conceded, but a correct statement of events, it is emphatically asserted, the book is not. Kamenev answers Trotsky by charging him with trying to substitute his own ideas for those of Lenin. Zinoviev ac-

cuses Trotsky of undermining Bolshevism. Others charge the War Minister with trying to place himself on a pedestal beside Lenin, with trying to take the mantle of the dead leader. The most critical and yet a far from uncomplimentary picture of Trotsky has been given by Stalin, the third of the triumvirate with Zinoviev and Kamenev, who is originally a Georgian revolutionary, and whose real name is Djughashvili. Says Stalin in the *Pravda* of Nov. 26, 1924:

Let us now go over the legend about the special rôle of Comrade Trotsky in the October revolution. Trotsky's followers very actively spread rumors that Trotsky was the inspirer and the sole leader of the October uprising. These rumors are spread most energetically by the so-called editor of Trotsky's works, Comrade Lentzner. Trotsky himself, by his systematic overlooking of the party, of the Central Committee of the party and of the Leningrad [Petrograd] Committee, by keeping silent about the preponderant leadership of these organizations in the uprising, and by persistently putting himself forward as the central figure of the October uprising—intentionally or unintentionally—helps in spreading these rumors about his special rôle in the uprising. I am far from attempting to deny the indisputably important rôle of Comrade Trotsky in the uprising. But I must say that any special rôle in the October uprising Comrade Trotsky did not and could not play, that, being the Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, he carried out the instructions of the Soviet. The Soviet was thus the directing power behind every move Comrade Trotsky made.

Thus far Trotsky has not answered the charges made against him by individuals or by the party. He is described in turn as too sick to answer and as setting his answer down in a new book. Meantime, parallel with the attacks on him, a Trotsky "legend" is arising, and becoming ever more widely spread—a legend embodying the view that Leon Trotsky is one of the greatest leaders of the Russian revolution and one of the greatest figures of his time.



# The Extraordinary Career of Leon Trotsky

By EMANUEL ARONSBURG

THE writer of this article has translated into English a biography of Leon Trotsky—People's Commissary for War in the Soviet Government—written by Dr. H. A. Siv, one of Trotsky's closest companions in the underground revolutionary club to which both devoted their energies during the years of a tumultuous youth in Czarist Russia. Dr. Siv's book gives a very interesting and illuminating account of the different stages of development which made Trotsky successively a Revolutionist, an Internationalist, a Menshevik, a Bolshevik, and finally one of the supreme leaders of the Government of revolutionary and Bolshevized Russia. The book is valuable especially because it gives the authentic facts of Trotsky's antecedents, early life and revolutionary career in Czarist Russia and abroad on the basis of first-hand knowledge. The need for such a work today is undeniable, in view of the many false or erroneous conceptions about Trotsky that find credence even among some who should be better informed. One of our metropolitan dailies recently stated that Trotsky was the son of a chemist. Another declared that he was of Tartar origin. The facts of Trotsky's birth and subsequent extraordinary career, as given by Dr. Siv, are now set forth.

David Bronstein (or Braunstein), Trotsky's father, was a Jewish farmer, whose only knowledge of chemistry, if he had any, was gained from experimenting with different blends of fertilizer in the province of Kherson, in South Russia, near the Black Sea. He was one of those comparatively few Jews whom the Czarist Government had found it advisable to leave unmolested when it decreed that Jews should not be permitted to live in the rural

districts. The future war lord of Soviet Russia first saw the light in the peaceful homestead of a farmer, far from the hurly-burly of the cities which were to become his battleground in later years.

Dr. Siv first met Trotsky in the City of Nikolaiev, in South Russia, in 1896, when the future leader was 18 years old. There was in the suburbs of Nikolaiev, as in so many other Russian cities at that time, a certain gathering place of budding revolutionists, situated in the ramshackle cottage of a market gardener of Czech nationality, Franz Schvigowsky by name. Most of the frequenters of "Franz's Salon," as they called their headquarters, were local high school students, with a slight sprinkling of horny-handed proletarians. Of this "salon" Leon Trotsky and Dr. Siv were members, and here began that intimate acquaintance which enabled the doctor to write what may perhaps be permanently considered one of the best accounts of Trotsky's first years as a revolutionist. Dr. Siv writes:

At first the gatherings at Franz's "Salon" were of a most innocent nature. There was nothing subversive about them; the young folks simply went there as they would to a club, where they could feel unrestrained.

But the vigilance of the police refused to be put to sleep, and not without reason:

Franz's garden had a terrible reputation in town; it came to be looked upon as a centre for all manner of sinister political plots and conspiracies.

Perhaps it was due in large measure to this watchfulness on the part of the police and the club's undeserved reputation among the townsfolk that the youthful members of this club began to take themselves more seriously than they might otherwise have done. At any rate, before long, a series of hot debates and



fiery lectures were held in Franz's "Salon" and the work of "saving Russia" was fairly launched by these budding revolutionists. Trotsky took a prominent part:

But the boldest and most stubborn debater was Leon Bronstein, the youngest of our members, then 18 years old. \* \* \* His father could not fail to observe that he possessed unusual ability. Accordingly, he took him to the nearest town, Nikolaiev, and placed him in the local "Real" school (something like an American high school). Leon boarded with a strange family there, and his parents apparently paid well for his maintenance, for he never seemed to lack anything.

Young Trotsky, however, paid less and less attention to school; he passed his examinations easily, thanks to his retentive memory, and devoted himself more and more to the activities of the "Salon." The result was that his education, scholastically speaking, came to an end with his graduation from high school, and the rest of his educational efforts were directed almost entirely toward proficiency in public speaking and debate. He seemed to sense instinctively what he would most require in the years to come. He was particularly fond of the "Eristic" (Art of Debate), a small pamphlet by Schopenhauer, which teaches how to vanquish an opponent in debate, irrespective of the question of right or wrong, truth or falsehood, as Schopenhauer warns his readers. This work was profitably digested by young Trotsky, with the result that his fellows at the "Salon" found it almost impossible to hold their ground against him in argument and debate.

The key to Trotsky's character, as seen by Dr. Siv, is:

To express his own will actively, to rise above all others, to be everywhere and all the time in the lead, this has always constituted the fundamental basis of Trotsky's personality. All other sides of his psychic life are only functional "superstructures and annexes."

Dr. Siv makes it very plain that he considers his erstwhile party comrade an egotist of the first water, a man who thinks of his comrades, friends, relatives, or of the "proletariat" for which he appears to be fighting, merely as

the means to his personal ends and to his own aggrandizement:

The workingmen interested him as the indispensable direct objects of his activity, of his revolutionary endeavors; his comrades interested him as the means by whose aid he could display his revolutionary activity; and if he felt anything like love for the proletarians and his party comrades it was only because in their persons he loved but himself.

#### RISE AS A SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY

The first act which foreshadowed Trotsky as the stern Bolshevik muz-  
zler of a free press was recorded in 1897. In that year, Dr. Siv tells his readers, young Trotsky, dissatisfied with the change of policy in a certain radical newspaper, penned a long protest against it in the complaint book specially provided for similar purposes at the local public library. He demanded that the library cancel its subscription to that paper! Not content with this, his first public "appearance," as it were, he wrote a letter to a Moscow paper, the *Rússkia Viédomosti*, concluding as follows: "All the intellectuals and all the laboring masses are most indignant at this change in the policy of the periodical!" When one of the comrades pointed out that there were only four signatures appended to that pronouncement and that this did not look very much like "*all* intellectuals and laboring masses," Trotsky was quick to find a way out. "Oh, that is nothing!" he answered. "We will write that *thousands* of signatures have been obtained."

In the same year, 1897, Trotsky and his comrades organized a genuinely revolutionary secret society in Nikolaiev. Serious work was started in the way of propaganda by secret meetings among the working people, by the secret printing of literature, and so on. Trotsky went into the work with tireless energy and increasing fanaticism. The success of the young rebels, however, aroused the envy of some less prosperous rebels in the town, a group of anarchists. Dr. Siv tells what happened:

These anarchists were very anxious to reap where they had *not* sown. Unwilling to travel the long and wearisome road of establishing



connections of their own with the proletariat, these fellows decided to try a short cut. They spied out our secret meetings and attended them only for the purpose of breaking them up noisily. Their intrusions became intolerable. Trotsky was hurling fire and brimstone at them. On one occasion, beside himself with fury, he announced his intention to report the anarchists to the police!

Had Trotsky been permitted by his more careful and cool-headed comrades to carry out this intention the tenor of his life would have been radically changed. For this would have meant the end of Franz's "Salon"; its meetings would have been transferred to the convict camps of Siberia for a long period of years, and those anarchists might have received a medal from the Czar's police for denouncing to them Trotsky's secret meetings.

This purely bourgeois impulse of appealing to the police was, however, the last tactical error of which the future dictator of the proletariat seems to have been guilty. Shortly afterward he was arrested, together with most of his comrades of the "Salon," and then he learned the inevitable lesson—that it would never do for a Russian revolutionist to appeal to the police to eject obstreperous anarchists from a well-regulated meeting at which the overthrow of the Government was being discussed. He learned to hate and fear the guardians of the law, and the fight was on in earnest.

Trotsky was arrested in January, 1898, and lodged in the prison at Odessa, where he as well as his comrades were held incommunicado pending trial. At last, almost two years later, the verdict was rendered, and Trotsky was sentenced to Siberia for four years and Dr. Siv, his fellow-prisoner, received a three-year term. When the party reached Moscow the exiles were confined in the famous Butyrki Prison to await the formation of a large convict transport for Siberian exile, and it was while in this prison that Trotsky decided to marry! Let us give him credit for pluck and courage. His choice fell on A. Sokolovskaia, a woman who had often at-

tended the meetings of Franz's "Salon" and who admired Leon's oratory. The path of this love was made thorny by the stubborn opposition of Trotsky Sr. to the match, and it was only thanks to the equal stubbornness of Trotsky Jr. that all obstacles were finally removed and the marriage solemnized in the Butyrki Prison.

The boundless energy of Trotsky was constantly seeking some wider outlet. Soon after his marriage he conceived the fantastic but characteristic plan of setting up a secret printing press for revolutionary proclamations—actually within the walls of the prison itself! The main point, he believed, was to set it up safely in some remote corner of the jail, where the police would never dream of looking for such equipment, and the work could go on uninterrupted. As so often in the course of his later and larger experiments with world revolution, when the parties immediately concerned, that is, the world proletariat, failed to respond to his schemes, so in this instance, too, nothing came of the brilliant plan, since his fellow-prisoners, primarily interested in obtaining their own freedom rather than that of the proletariat, showed a woeful lack of enthusiasm. On May 3, 1900, Trotsky and his friends were put aboard the convict train and sent rolling along the long road to Siberian exile. "The guards treated us well," says Dr. Siv, "and the journey was made quite pleasantly."

While a prisoner of the Czar in a remote Siberian village he found no obstacles in his way when he decided to contribute articles to a very progressive, almost radical, newspaper published at Irkutsk, the *Eastern Review*. The Government at that time was Czarist and therefore not sufficiently "advanced" to nationalize and monopolize every printing press in the country. And so Trotsky, under the pen name of "Antid-Oto" (which he adopted by the rather curious process of choosing a word at random in an Italian dictionary), became a steady and



interesting contributor to that publication.

Trotsky's Siberian experiences and their effect on his career are described by his biographer as follows:

His literary fame was growing rapidly and soon reached the ears of Russian revolutionary groups in foreign countries. At that time the leading publication of the Russian Social-Democrats was the *Iskra* (Spark), appearing in Geneva, Switzerland, and smuggled into Russia for distribution through underground channels. The *Iskra* could not afford to neglect such a rising star as Trotsky, and he received an invitation to take an active part in that paper. Trotsky did not let them wait long for his arrival. He deserted his wife and two children (the second of whom had just been born) and made his escape from Siberia, having spent about one year there.

The Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, which had to be held outside of Russia, in London, in 1903, was attended also by Lenin and Trotsky, members of that party. The Congress split over the question of tactics, and Lenin, who favored revolution as against evolution, found himself leader of the majority of the delegates, who thus became the "Majority-Men," or, in Russian, "Bolsheviki." Trotsky, on the other hand, favored the evolutionary wing, and thus became a "Minority-Man," or "Menshevik." And since control of the *Iskra* was retained by this faction, he contributed to its columns numerous polemical articles denouncing the Lenin wing and advocating evolutionary methods rather than revolution. Quite a change since his early years in Russia! But not the last yet. There were to be a few more somersaults in his political convictions before he became eventually Lenin's right-hand man.

#### PART IN THE 1905 REVOLUTION

Two years more passed, and there was revolution in Russia. In October, 1905, we find Trotsky back in Russia and taking the leading part in the newly formed Soviet of Workmen's Delegates at St. Petersburg, under the assumed name of Yanovski. Witte himself had to negotiate with Trotsky for the terms of a truce between the revo-

lutionists and the Czarist Government. He then decided that this Russian revolt would be only the beginning of a world-wide revolution for socialism. Accordingly, when the Czar issued his famous October manifesto, in 1905, Trotsky refused to be placated by this concession offered by the Czarist Government to the revolutionists, and declared in one of his speeches: "The working class will engrave with the point of its bayonet a manifesto of its own upon the bloody, crimson walls of the Winter Palace!"

In December, 1905, when the revolutionary honeymoon was over, the Soviet of St. Petersburg, including Leon Trotsky, was arrested by the Czar's police. The elections to the Duma were held. The Bolsheviki and Mensheviki came to grips once more: the former advocated a boycott of the elections, demanding a Constituent Assembly instead of the Duma; the latter were willing to rest satisfied with electing some of their deputies to the Duma.

On Jan. 3, 1907, thirteen months after the arrest of the Soviet, its members, including Trotsky, were deported to Siberia. The Czar had won, Trotsky had lost. But he was to have the last laugh, many years later, as we know. At that time, however, Trotsky did not feel at all like laughing, as Dr. Siv tells us in his book, but, on the contrary, was very much dejected and waiting for a general amnesty which he hoped the newly elected Duma would win for the revolutionists from the Czar. But no amnesty came, and Trotsky resolved to escape. Six weeks later, assisted by his friends, he cracked a whip over a Siberian reindeer team, traveled with it some 400 miles across the snow, and on March 2, 1907, we find him already in St. Petersburg; shortly after he managed to cross the frontier.

The World War found Trotsky in Austria. His subsequent wanderings from country to country, involuntary, because of his pacifist propaganda, are too well known to need recapitulation here. They finally brought him to New



York, where he arrived in 1916, and where he became editor of *Novy Mir*, a Russian Socialist newspaper. The news of the Russian revolution, in March, 1917, was hailed in the Russian colony in New York with delight, and innumerable meetings and celebrations were held, at which Trotsky became the chief attraction among the orators. He made it plain that he was desperately needed in Russia, to make history there, and not in New York. And so, the very first group of Russian emigrants to return from the United States included Leon Trotsky. After being taken off the steamer at Halifax by the Canadian authorities, as a pacifist agitator, he was permitted to go on to Russia, thanks to the intercession of Miliukov, Foreign Minister of the Provisional Government. Miliukov is now in Paris, and to go back to Soviet Russia spells far greater danger to him than that which threatened Trotsky at Halifax.

In September, 1917, Trotsky was elected President of the Petrograd Soviet. Thus he held the same position which he had occupied in the first Soviet in the same city twelve years earlier; but while the Czar's Government found no difficulties in applying high-handed methods to get the best of his party, the Kerensky Government which Trotsky found in power this time had to reckon with the "revolutionary democracy" behind Trotsky and his partisans. The result was that Trotsky won and Kerensky lost. A month later Trotsky was able to make good his threat of twelve years before and engrave the manifesto of the Bolsheviks on the walls of the Winter Palace with the point of the bayonet. Only, instead of the Czar, he and his brother revolutionists found in the Winter Palace the

liberal but weak government of Kerensky.

Such, in broad outline, is the amazing career of Leon Bronstein, or Braunstein, alias Trotsky. From the peaceful fields of his father's little farm in South Russia to the Palace of the Czars in the Moscow Kremlin, commander and organizer of the Red Army of Soviet Russia, and now in disfavor with his own comrades, his career shows a truly amazing series of ups and downs, even for a Russian revolutionist!

But what kind of a human being, after all, is this stormy petrel? The world knows Trotsky, the Soviet War Commissar, but it seems still to know but little of the man himself. Doctor H. A. Siv, the fellow-revolutionist and fellow-exile of Trotsky in Siberia, who is now peacefully practicing medicine in New York, presents a view of his erstwhile comrade by no means flattering. He asserts as Trotsky's predominant features a combination of inordinate ambition and inhumanity:

In Trotsky's psychic make-up we find no trace of those elements which might answer to the conceptions of cruelty or kindness. In its place there is only a void, a vacuum. Sympathy for men and women as the agents of individual emotions and desires of their own, and not as the tools of Trotsky's ambitions and gratifications, is totally lacking in this man. To him, human beings are merely so many units, or hundreds, thousands, or millions of units, with whose aid he may best serve his own ambition for power. As to *how* this is to be realized, that is not important and is not to be dictated by sympathy nor antipathy, but exclusively by the exigencies of the moment. Trotsky is morally blind, deaf and dumb.

This is the verdict of one who knew him most intimately, shared with him prison and Siberian exile, and was reared in the same revolutionary gospel of Karl Marx.



# The Passing of Samuel Gompers

By JOHN R. COMMONS

SAMUEL GOMPERS was, in my opinion, one of the ten or twelve greatest Americans. It must be remembered that no great man had at any time during his life the unanimous consensus of opinion that he was truly great. His greatness was as much in his enemies as in his friends.

I judge this quality, not by eminence alone, but by persistence, intellect and fitness to the great circumstances of time and place. Each great episode in American history comes as a conflict and develops opposing leaders. Even death does not silence hostility. Neither Jefferson, Lincoln, Lee nor Wilson were unanimously considered great during their lives or after, but when we consider their indomitable will displayed through all the ups and downs of fortune, and the millions of people united under their leadership, we find therein the constructive signs of greatness. Only in the fields of philosophy, science and invention, where hostility and hatred usually have no entrance, do we find a species of general agreement, which is rather indifference, to the greatness of Emerson, William James or Edison. Since the time of our Civil War the qualities of persistence and intellect have been called out, not so much by political or sectional issues as by economic issues. This applies particularly to the concerted massing of the forces of capitalism and the forces of labor, in which two figures—those of John D. Rockefeller and Samuel Gompers—will always stand out, each in his own field, as the most representative and significant leaders of their time.

It is now twenty-seven years ago that I became personally acquainted with Gompers, and I have counted myself since then among his followers. I have

watched him at each critical turn of his career, at each crisis in labor and in the fortunes of the American people; I have gone back in history through the early labor documents and newspapers, and through interviews with his associates and opponents of the earlier days, and I have even consulted with those who had detectives on his track, and I have found that at every point he was true and great.

Sometimes I have thought him to be ineffective, when I was endeavoring to get him to do something which I and others thought quite important at some labor crisis, and he merely promised that he would write an editorial about it the following month in *The Federationist*. But, when, since then, I have compared those impetuosities of mine with the nation-wide complexities which he had in mind I have realized what it is to have that patience plus determination which makes a man truly a leader

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Professor Commons is a graduate of Oberlin College (1888) and received there a higher degree in 1890 and the honorary degree of LL. D. in 1915. He studied at Johns Hopkins University for two years (1888-90) and in 1890 became Instructor in Political Economy at Wesleyan University. Subsequently he held the position of Professor of Sociology at Oberlin College (1892), at Indiana University (1893-95) and Syracuse University (1895-99). He has been Professor of Economics at the University of Wisconsin since 1904. He has held many public offices; he was the Assistant Secretary of the National Civic Federation in 1902; director of the American Bureau of Industrial Research since 1904; member of the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin 1911-13; of the Federal Commission of Industrial Relations, 1913-15; of the Wisconsin Minimum Wage Board since 1919. He acted as President of the American Economic Association, 1917; National Monetary Association since 1922; National Consumers' League, 1923; Chairman of Unemployment Insurance Board, Chicago Clothing Trades, 1923. He has been a contributor to many reviews and periodicals and he is the author of "The Distribution of Wealth," "Trade Unionism and Labor Problems" and many other works on labor subjects, including (in collaboration with others) a "History of Labor in the United States."

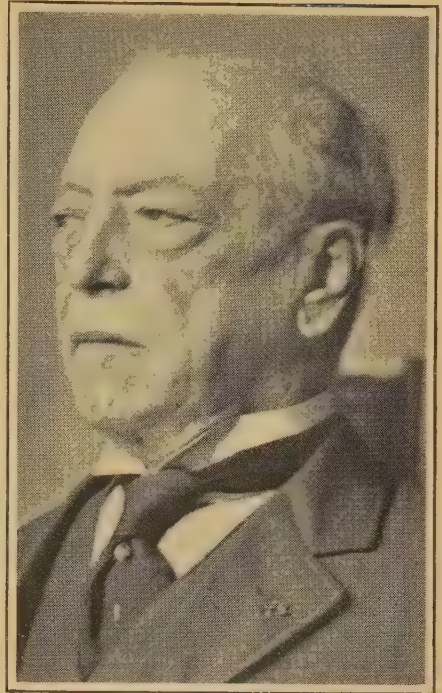


when the right time for striking the right blow actually comes.

His mind seemed to be rather slow in action, rather ponderous and heavy; his words came out as if measured off by schedule; he never could be accused of fury or boisterousness; yet there was an intensity and grimness about his thinking and speaking, a kind of solidity quite in keeping with his huge leonine head and deep furrowed features, with his square, thickset body and his short stature. He could launch a rhetorical blow at an antagonist with a massive and most effective brilliancy, as when he exclaimed to the Socialists, in a convention of the federation, that he had thoroughly studied them and their works and found them to be "economically unsound, socially wrong and industrially impossible."

#### THE RISE OF GOMPERS

By way of brief biography I may say that Samuel Gompers was born in London in 1850, of a Jewish family that had found its way through Portugal and Holland to England. He came to the United States in 1863 and located in New York. It was in 1867 that Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* came to New York, and forthwith the German immigrants, including Gompers's co-founder of the cigarmakers' union, Adolph Strasser, set to work studying and discussing that abstruse and monumental work. Gompers made no idle boast when he declared that he had made a thorough study of socialism. I have found that many of the real thinkers of the American labor movement have developed from a fundamental study of the Socialistic theories of Marx. But they also tried to test the theory by experiment. Before Gompers emerged in 1877 as the principal founder of American trade unionism he had been for several years in New York City in the centre of the Marxian theories and of effort to demonstrate their practicability by experiments on a small scale. I have not known any person more thoroughly grounded in the theories of Marx than Samuel Gompers. Indeed, at the 1881



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#### SAMUEL GOMPERS

President of the American Federation of Labor for over forty years

convention, which organized the predecessor of the American Federation of Labor, Gompers was alleged by the followers of his chief opponent for the Presidency of the organization to be a Socialist and the candidate of the Socialists. In reality he was the candidate of that element that had mastered the theories of socialism and rejected them on the test of experiment.

There is, however, an explanation of the fact that his opponents in that convention could plausibly name him a Socialist. His opponent was John Jarret, the President of the Iron and Steel Workers' Union, an organization of skilled workers which joined faithfully with the steel owners in supporting the protective tariff. This union was at that time politically in alliance with the manufacturers and was therefore strictly committed to the capitalistic theory of the harmony of capital and



labor. But though Gompers and his followers had rejected socialism as an ultimate goal, they had nevertheless accepted as much of the socialistic viewpoint as would divorce the unions from any political alliance with capitalists. In short, Gompers had learned from his study and rejection of socialism that labor organizations must cut loose from all political alliances whatsoever, whether socialistic or capitalistic, and must organize solely to get more wages, shorter hours and better conditions, here and now, and by the laborers' own power of collective action. To a capitalistic unionist like Jarret, Gompers was a Socialist, but he was a *bête noire* to the true-red Socialist.

The fight between Gompers and Jarret was avoided, for Gompers yielded the Presidency to Jarret and was himself made Vice President. Two years later the steel workers withdrew because the federation passed resolutions condemning the tariff. Meanwhile Gompers was made President, and for forty-two years, from 1882 to 1924, with one exception, he had been the official head of the American labor movement, in so far as that movement made itself independent of capitalists, Socialists and politicians.

#### AS WORKER AND ORGANIZER

One cannot understand Gompers, nor, for that matter, the American labor movement itself, unless he is familiar with the life of Gompers, first, as a boy and young man in a cigar shop of New York at the age of 13, in 1863, to the age of 27, in 1877; and again, in the cigar shop from 1877 to 1886, when he became President of the reorganized American Federation of Labor. During this period he was an actual worker, for the total income of the federation was not enough to have paid him any salary before 1887.

I have said that he was a slow thinker. What I mean is that he thought in terms of experiment. "How does the theory work?" he asked himself. "How can I understand what a theory really is unless I see whether it fits the facts when

actually put to work? Is a theory true that does not fit the facts?" But it takes time to think in terms of experiment, and a good deal of waiting has to be endured before the experiment proves, or disproves, or modifies the theory. When the experiment is finished, however, then the experimenter knows exactly what every sign and every motion actually means, and he can thereafter, for more than forty years in Gompers's case, know exactly, and before any one else knows, what action is immediately required. That was what Gompers learned as a boy and young man, in the ten or twelve years prior to 1877, when he carried on his experiments with socialism, and from 1877 to 1886, when he experimented with the Knights of Labor.

Local cigarmakers' unions had existed in New York City as early as 1864. The long period of depression of business, after 1873, led to the collapse of these and other unions, but the cigarmakers made a desperate recovery in 1877 and carried on a prolonged strike against the tenement-house sweating system. The strike was a disastrous failure. The unions had no funds, no discipline, no inducement to hold together as militant organizations during periods between strikes or periods of business depression. In such times they became mere debating societies, dwindling down until only the theoretical debater on co-operation, socialism, anarchism and labor politics held the floor.

Gompers and Strasser took the lead in reorganizing the cigarmakers. Strasser was given the ambitious title of International President, by which was meant traveling organizer for North America, and Gompers remained President of Local 144, continuing to work in the shop but also organizing unions out of hours. They accomplished four things: they made the international officers supreme over the local unions; they increased the membership dues to unheard-of amounts in order to build up a fund; they concentrated the control of that fund in the national officers, and they adopted, or prepared to adopt, sick-



ness, accident and unemployment benefits. This was the beginning of militant, persistent unionism in America. The cigarmakers' union became the model for all others. And when, twenty years afterward, in the last decade of the '90s, another depression like that of 1873-79 took place, Gompers could report to the Federation of Labor that, for the first time in history, the unions had weathered the storm.

In 1881, after other unions had copied the cigarmakers union of 1877, came the next step, the "Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada." Gompers was Chairman of the Committee on Con-

stitution, and it was in his committee that the final plan of organization was worked out. This federation was reorganized in 1886 as the American Federation of Labor. The principles of organization adopted, entirely different from those of any other labor movement in this or any other country, were as follows: (1) There were to be no dual unions; only one union could be accepted for each trade in all North America; (2) no local unions were to be admitted; such unions must enter the International Union and get what representation they could through their national unions; (3) the delegates from each international union were to cast as

many votes as were proportionate to the number of its members; (4) local or city trades assemblies and federations (composed of local unions of the several trades) were to have each only one vote; (5) each national union was to be completely self-governing over its own locals and free from domination by the federation.

#### NOT "GOMPERS MACHINE"

These constitutional principles of Gompers accomplished the purpose of their conceiver. The American Federation of Labor became, not a popular convention of delegates from the local unions, but a council of ambassadors and executive heads of national unions. Herein it was exactly the opposite of the Knights of Labor. What is a council of executives as distinguished from a popular representative assembly? It is a council



Samuel Gompers conferring on President Calles of Mexico a medal of the American Federation of Labor—one of Gompers's last acts before his death



of fighting organizations, each supreme in its own jurisdiction. It is a council of responsible executives, instead of a house of representatives of the people. It is a league of nations and not one big union, as the Knights of Labor was and as the Socialists would like to be.

For this very reason such a council excludes all political parties and substantially all radicals. These two elements get in mainly through the local city assemblies, which, however, have but one vote each, whereas the executives, who are always the controlling delegates from the international unions, cast altogether several thousand votes. This arrangement is a safety valve and a muffler. I have heard in these conventions the most radical and eloquent outbursts from delegates of these local assemblies; then a short reply by Gompers or an executive; then a vote of 99 to 1 against the local irresponsibles. No wonder the latter and their sympathizers for forty years have denounced the Federation as a "Gompers machine." It is a "machine," just as modern capitalism is a machine. It is a strictly business and strictly conservative body, with, however, an escape valve for grievances. How else can capitalism be met except by a "machine"?

But is it a "Gompers machine"? Herein is where I think Gompers showed greatness and fitness. Gompers, as President of the American Federation, never had authority to call a strike, or make a settlement of a strike, or control the funds of any nationally organized body of labor. He and his Executive Committee did have authority to appoint a limited number of local organizers, who helped all the unions in their membership campaigns and their strikes, and he did have authority over a very small and shifting number of local unions in occupations where no national union as yet existed. Otherwise the power of Gompers was only "moral," a term which, in his interpretation, signified the organized consent of collective action on which the American Federation of Labor was founded.

### "PERSUASION, NOT FORCE"

Moral influence meant the belief that drastic methods would not bring education and solidarity; that it was persuasion, not domineering, that unionized. One of the national unions had disciplined a radical agitator, whose rebellious following broke up the union's meetings. The national officers, in despair, called in Gompers. He announced his intention of sending for the revolutionist. The officers protested. Discipline was at stake. Why recognize rebellion? But Gompers talked with the rebel and the union was again united.

On the other hand, no "dual union" can be admitted to the Federation. There must be but one union for all North America for each trade or industry. A thousand independent unions are eligible to the British Trades Union Congress. The American Federation of Labor admits less than 150. In England, as Dr. Perlman has pointed out, there is a class psychology which unites all the unions against all the employers. But in America dual unionism means that either one or the other union furnishes strikebreakers for the employer. Gompers's "moral influence" with the executives of each national union was founded on their knowledge that no dual union would be allowed to displace them. Dual unions did arise, and some of them became powerful. Gompers was not always able to bring them together. But he did not yield to them.

In another direction "moral power" was Gompers's substitute for the weakness of labor in competition with business men. He had seen in New York scores of cooperative stores, cooperative workshops and other cooperative business enterprises undertaken by the unions, especially of the Knights of Labor. These "substitutes for capitalism," as they hoped to make them, broke down under the incapacity of organized labor to enforce discipline when it became the employer of labor. No one understood better than Gompers the limits beyond which the organization of



labor could not go. It could not lift itself as a body out of manual labor and become a body of business men or professional men. For this reason Gompers was always against "theorizers" and "intellectuals" in the organization of labor. They were "industrially impossible." Amid all the differences in America of religion, of race, of language, of politics, there was only one direction toward which labor could unite—more wages, more leisure, more liberty. To go further than this was to be misled by theorists, idealists and well-meaning but "fool" friends of labor. Labor could have "moral power" only when it struggled for better homes, better living, better citizenship, by its collective action. In the exposition of this point of view Gompers was the best of theorizers and the greatest "intellectual" of them all.

#### FIGHTER TO LAST FOR LABOR

It was this firm conviction that labor never could displace the capitalist in the management of business that made it possible for Gompers to enter into negotiations with capitalists, and even to disregard the outcries from his own ranks against his membership in the National Civic Federation along with the most noted, and even alleged anti-unionistic of capitalists. Gompers held that labor was always right. Up to the very last ditch he defended and appealed for help, even for those who afterward were convicted of dynamiting and murder. This may seem like a paradox to many, but this policy of his was merely the result of an experience with the courts gained in boyhood and during the collective struggles of organized labor and his belief that misrepres-



P. & A. Photos

Labor chiefs photographed after the meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in New York on Dec. 19, 1924, when William Green, General Secretary and Treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America, was elected President of the A. F. of L. Front row, from left to right: Frank Duffy (Carpenters), Frank Morrison (Secretary A. F. of L.), William Green, James Duncan (Vice President A. F. of L.) and Daniel Tobin (Treasurer A. F. of L.). Back row, from left to right: Thomas A. Rickert (United Mine Workers), Matthew Woll (Photo Engravers), Jacob Fischer (Barbers), M. F. Ryan (Railway Carmen) and James Wilson (Pattern Makers)



sentations, false accusation and misuse of the courts all too frequently occurred.

Yet I have never known any one, whether labor leader or not, more reasonable in all his negotiations with employers, nor more ready to correct the methods of those he represented. He was simply, first, a fighter for the rights of labor, then a reasonable man in the use of those rights.

He knew full well the weakness of labor in business, and he knew equally well its weakness in politics. He penetrated the underlying fact of American political parties, that they are great, co-operative institutions of professional politicians and bosses competing for control of government and political jobs, and not organizations of citizens based on principles of public welfare. Organized labor never could compete with these unions of political experts, and a labor party was, at least in this country, as politically impossible as producers' cooperation and socialism were industrially impossible. What, then, should organized labor do in politics? Simply bargain collectively with these political unions, just as the capitalists bargained collectively with them. And what should it bargain for? Simply for immunity from interference by Legislatures, courts and executives, so that it could use its own collective moral and economic power to bargain collectively with the capitalists.

This may seem to be a very materialistic policy, but it is a part of the process of adaptation to American conditions. And when the great crisis came and the future of American independence hung in the balance, Gompers was equipped and ready, more than any other American, to lead American labor to the defense of American institutions,



JOHN R. COMMONS

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and he was buried with a military escort from the American Army.

When I last saw him, two months ago in Chicago, the mark of death was plainly upon him, but he was intent, as usual, upon his work. I asked his secretary if Gompers was not sick. "No, not sick," he said, "same as ever." His last great work—that of uniting Mexico to America in bonds of labor and friendship—was then unfinished, and he died at the age of 74 "in the saddle," a fighter for humanity to the last.

The philosophy of forty years of service was compressed into his dying words, "God bless our American institutions. May they grow better and better."



# Tasks Awaiting President Calles of Mexico

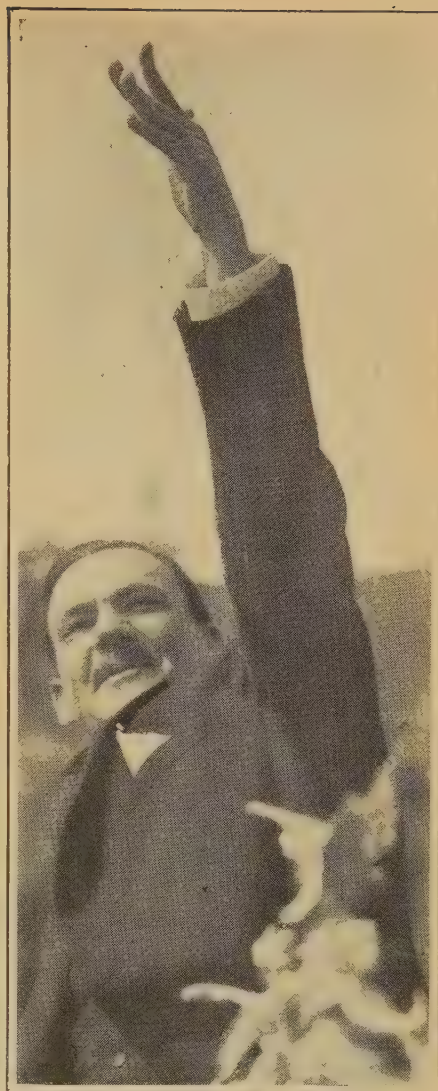
By CARLETON BEALS

Author of "Mexico: An Interpretation" and "Rome or Death."

IN England Ramsay MacDonald, British Labor Premier, fell from power; in the United States Senator La Follette, as Labor's candidate, trailed a miserable third in the race for the Presidency; but in Mexico Plutarco Elias Calles emerged victor in the national elections and now sits confidently in the saddle as a so-called Labor President. Why should Mexico, a frontier country, with not more than a million industrial workers in a population of 15,000,000, have put into power the candidate of a Labor Party which controls a poor minority in Senate and Chamber? The Labor groups in Mexico do not represent the aspirations of the country as a whole; Labor has merely become the strong common denominator. Labor has emerged as a stabilizing force after revolution for half a generation; or, to change the metaphor, it is the straight line in the broken pattern of Mexican politics. In short, it is the one coherent civil power.

Labor is not Mexico any more than the Mexican Army was Mexico during its decades of abusive control of the national destinies. That President Calles

Mr. Carleton Beals is a recognized authority on the Latin peoples of Europe and South America. He is an alumnus of the University of California and the holder of a higher degree from Columbia University. He spent three years in Spain and Latin-American countries in various educational and journalistic capacities and another three years, from February, 1921, in Italy, where he made a study of the political and social situation. He is now pursuing a similar study from first-hand sources in Mexico, where for many months he was in the closest contact with former President Obregón and his Government and with General Calles, the recently elected President who succeeded Obregón. Mr. Beals has been a continuous contributor to many periodicals in Spain, Mexico, England and the United States and is the author of two books, the titles of which are given above.



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Calles taking the oath of office as President of the Mexican Republic

is aware of this is perhaps indicated by the fact that his Cabinet harbors only one distinctly Labor figure, Luis N. Morones, head of the Mexican Labor Party, who holds the post of Minister of Commerce, Industry and Labor. In other words, though the organized groups that put Calles into power are few and defined—the Labor Party, the National Agrarian Party, headed by Señor Soto y Gama; the pro-Calles Co-

operatist Party, headed by the present Minister of Education, Puig Casaurang, and the army, controlled by ex-President Obregón—Calles is actually the product of many diverse inchoate tendencies, such as Indian regionalism; and he owed his victory to the support of a number of outstanding personalities, such as Alberto J. Pani, Minister of Finance, who though carefully abstaining from political affiliations, controls a vast bureaucratic following. Can Calles hold these disparate forces, tendencies and personalities to one orderly line of conduct? Obregón "brought Mexico back" to the Díaz tradition of internal peace; can Calles retain his hold on the tiller for the next four years?

Violence has its own rhythm. As Mussolini, another great political realist, has observed, "violence knows how to obey its internal limits." The Mexican revolution of 1910, precipitated by that dreamer and fantastic spiritualist, Francisco I. Madero, and carried down to the present time, has had in its recurring periods of disorder a regularity comparable to the swing of a pendulum. The disorders in Mexico during the past fifteen years can be graphed into an upward and downward curve. The pendulum swung most violently after the murderous and drunken Victoriano Huerta went down and Villa and Carranza split; now it is swinging to rest. There are, apparently, in the life of all peoples almost unanalyzable forces that make for coherence, for the resetting of the social structure, much as a broken bone is mended and reknits. Calles has entered the scene when peace is a logical hope and possibility. The purpose of this article is to discuss the problems he has been called upon to face. They are many and disheartening, but not insurmountable.

Calles's most persistent problem of personal control is the constant reconciliation of two outstanding contradictory groups, Labor and the army. He must also circumvent or conciliate the landed proprietors, organized into the National Syndicate of Agriculturists;

he must maintain good relations with the United States Government and make his peace with American business and commercial interests. In addition to dominating and reconciling these various conflicting interests, he faces the three major problems of bureaucratism, finance and agrarian reconstruction.

#### PROBLEM OF CONTROLLING THE ARMY

The first great problem is the army, a hydra-headed Pratorian Guard, which, during the hundred years of Mexican independence, has made and broken the State. Not a national but a feudal army; a military caste without civic pride or decency, imbued with a spirit of reckless adventure and plunder, ever ready to stab the country in the back. From the day Mexico became independent of Spain in 1821 to the year 1876, when Porfirio Díaz spiked his sword in the doors of the National Palace, the nation was the dancing puppet of two regencies, two Emperors, various dictators, nearly twenty Provisional Presidents, twenty-three regular Presidents and one or two extraordinary bodies known by sundry names. From 1910 to 1925 Mexico has whistled to the tunes of six major Presidents, Díaz, Madero, Huerta, Carranza, Obregón and Calles; six temporary or Provisional Presidents, and various self-styled Presidents. While this instability has been rooted in racial, social and economic maladjustment, the army has been the specific source of the numerous unhappy betrayals that have prevented most Mexican Presidents from dying in their beds. Twice only in the history of the republic has it been dominated and subordinated to social ends, once by Díaz, once by Obregón.

Out of the flux of the recent revolutionary period emerged one popular military genius, Alvaro Obregón. Something of a social patriot, he was always more comfortable when leading an army to victory. He is a great strategist and an indefatigable campaigner. To this day he controls the army of Mexico. He has successfully bent it to his will and has curbed its worst excesses. He



alone possesses the loyalty of the Yaquis, the terrible Apaches of the north, on whom has rested the backbone and strength of his régime. And though Obregón has been honestly trying to create a truly national army instead of an amorphous rabble dependent upon personal leadership, upon caudillos, it is doubtful whether he can pass this inheritance on to Calles. Calles must continue to govern with the support of Obregón. If the Sonora duumvirate can be maintained, if Calles is farsighted enough to win the constant loyalty of Obregón, his chances of success are immeasurably increased, and the army can be successfully subordinated to the social needs. His one alternative would be to break the army swiftly and drastically and create a new national corps. But here, too, he would have to count upon the accord of Obregón. There have been rumors that Calles intends to inaugurate universal military training as a means of offsetting the power of the professional militarists, at the same time unifying the country and rapidly doing away with illiteracy.

If Calles can keep the army in its place, through friendship with Obregón, through shrewdly undermining it or by substituting some other armed group, he may emerge as the great social realist of the revolution in Mexico. Certainly he is primarily a social leader rather than a militarist. He has found his chief backing in the rather inchoate labor and peasant movement of the country.

But in favoring that movement instead of the army, he immediately faces conflicts of jurisdiction. De Negri, Obregón's Minister of Agriculture, recounted to me some of the difficulties in connection with the program of land restitution. As a result of the de la Huerta revolt the professional militarists for the time being regained something of their power and license. All over the country they seized vast properties under the pretext that the owners had abetted the rebellion of de la Huerta. Since then they have constantly obstructed the efforts of the National Agrarian Commission to administer these properties. In many instances the



President Calles with his predecessor, General Obregón, at the inauguration ceremony on Nov. 30, 1924

landed proprietors have voluntarily placed their holdings under the protection of the General in their particular "region." The General, in return for a comfortable compensation, defies the efforts of the local Agrarian Commission to expropriate any portion of the property. Bands of agraristas then take the field; there is a miniature civil war, in which the regular authorities of the State Government oppose the agraristas, as in Michoacán, or abet them, as in Vera Cruz. The whole bizarre situation indicates the general lack of security and the laxness of the Federal Government. At the same time it indicates that the army still stands outside normal functioning of the law and will be a disturbing factor in any constructive solution of the national problems.

Thus Calles is confronted, first of all, with the problem of guiding and harmonizing the most powerful organized factions that stand behind the throne of Mexican politics. In most modern democracies there is a normal play of the various social and political groups. But in Mexico the conflict is between a feudal militarism and an aroused populace dangerously imbued with the loose sophisms of the Russian revolution. Centralized governmental sovereignty is at stake. This would seem to throw Calles with demagogery. But the only organized groups of workers and peasants of any great strength are not Bolshevikistic, and as their power increases and their knowledge grows, they have shown themselves increasingly cautious. I refer particularly to the Mexican Regional Confederation of Labor and the National Labor Party, which supported Calles for President. But in any case the functioning of popular groups in Mexico is uncertain. In most countries the interplay of the various organized forces of the country would result in a comfortable shifting of public opinion; in Mexico it is too apt to lead to civil war. Calles must check the army and restrain the too vociferous among his own following.

What are some of the more constructive problems of the Administration?

First, the purification of the bureaucracy. This is urgent, vitally urgent. Nowhere in the world is there a more vicious bureaucracy than in Mexico. A modern Dante wandering through the world would put the Mexican bureaucrats in the lowest circle of hell. This group considers itself the salt of the earth; it possesses the divine right of holding sinecures. The number of persons dependent upon the Government for livelihood has increased tenfold since the time of Díaz. But the newcomers have rapidly absorbed the vices of the traditional group. The Mexican bureaucrat considers it his manful obligation to steal. Nothing is too petty for his attention—from pins to automobiles, from paper clips to haciendas and oil concessions. He pads the payrolls with salaries for his mistresses, whose business value in the governmental offices is virtually nil. He spends hours in the corner cantina drinking cognac with boon political confrères. Hardly anything is bought or sold by the Mexican Government without the corresponding rake-off. A shipper can whistle till doomsday for freight cars, his fruit and vegetables can rot on the siding, unless he pays the customary "contribution." In view of the pressing needs of the Mexican exchequer the situation is desperate. The Mexican Government is the biggest paymaster in Mexico. Inefficiency or derangement of its normal functioning is today ten times as serious as it was a decade ago. The school teachers recently went without two months' pay and the business life of the capital was well-nigh paralyzed. Calles cannot hope to inaugurate any sound reforms until he has cleansed the Augean stables of greed and graft and stringently curtailed the number of useless hangers-on.

The financial situation of the Government is highly unsatisfactory. Mexico has blundered through a number of years without any foreign assistance or adequate taxation system. It can do so again, perhaps. But today the needs of the farm population are far more pressing than when Obregón took office.



The key problem of the stability of the Mexican Government is the land problem, and the key to the solution of the land problem during the next few years is adequate national funds for creating rural credits, compensating the despoiled hacendados (owners of ranches) and promoting irrigation and conservation projects. These things are urgently and vitally indispensable. Money is needed. Mexico will have to work out a more effective manner of levying and collecting taxes, doubly difficult because of the semi-paralysis of farming, mining and manufacturing; or she will have to resort to a foreign loan, which may or may not be forthcoming. Mexico cannot continue to live from hand to mouth on the petroleum taxes.

The present status of the agrarian problem of Mexico is deplorable. Any sane individual will have to face the truth that the wholesale statements made by Calles during his sojourn in New York about continuing the work of Obregón, of standing by the ideals of the agrarian rebel Zapata, of lavishly providing the Indians with lands, is dust in the eyes or plain stupidity. To continue the land policy of Obregón along the present lines means national suicide. No one has praised Obregón's initial efforts to solve the land problem more unstintedly than myself. But, best stated, Obregón never touched the land problem or made a beginning at solving it. What he solved was the military problem; by his prompt concessions to such land rebels as Villa, Cedillo and others, by his guarantee to the peons of Mexico that every individual had the



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GENERAL PLUTARCO ELIAS CALLES  
A photographic study of Mexico's new President

right to a patrimony, he promptly pacified the country, amazingly pacified it. But since then times have changed. Today the rapid distribution of lands in various States, especially Vera Cruz, San Luis Potosi and elsewhere, is having a boomerang effect.

#### LAND PROBLEM SOLUTION VITAL

The prime necessity in the reconstruction of a people after a social disruption (as Russia has proved) is the rapid restimulation of the agrarian life, the need that production in the most vital of human activities shall not be curtailed. In Mexico farm production has

been seriously curtailed. The hacendados have all had portions of their estates taken away. Payment was made for these with interest-bearing bonds, as yet having no negotiable value. Had this expropriation been rapid, decisive, well defined, the results would not have been so disastrous. As it is, the hacendados have no idea where the expropriation will halt; they have no real protection against the demands of the local agrarian commission or the bands of roving Agraristas that make the sowing of new crops difficult and dangerous. There was no real excuse for the badly planned and worse executed forfeiture of cultivated lands in Mexico, except, perhaps, where a hacienda was strangling a village, for there is land enough to satisfy every need. When Obregón took office he declared that but 2 per cent. of the rich southern area was under cultivation. It is true that the unused lands needed to be cleared, developed, irrigated, and the recipient furnished with tools and seed and capital. The Government, despite its financial embarrassment, should have developed new lands without disturbing any more than was necessary for pacification and liberating certain village lands already under cultivation.

The result has been that the poor peón, given property, harvests only the first crop; his poverty and lack of knowledge prevent him from resowing the land the second year. He therefore creeps back to the hacendado to ask for work. But the hacendado can take on no extra hands; he is cultivating, if at all, a small portion of his estate. The peón, desperate, then turns to the local agrarian commission and asks for more lands, usually just before harvest time. Whereupon the commission, after the hacendado has spent money and time bringing a crop to maturity, promptly expropriates the cultivated land to give to the peóns. This is nothing more than a legalized form of crop-raiding; and though the law ostensibly offers protection against such measures, the hacendado usually has no effective remedy. In primitive

days one tribe warred on another at harvest time to steal the crops. The same thing has been taking place in Mexico in a more dignified but a no less disastrous manner.

Such a state of affairs cannot continue. Mexico, a raw product country, is placed in the ludicrous position of importing such foodstuffs as corn and other cereals. The Government is precariously living off the petroleum industry to make up for the lost balance; it is not reconstructing its basic industry, agriculture. And this is what Calles must do, or the overriding laws of supply and demand, of hunger, or curtailed production, the vicious circle of no buying power set off against the inability to produce, will precipitate the country into a chaos more disastrous than it has yet suffered and from which the resurrection of its people will be tenfold more arduous, painful and dubious. That Obregón saw which way the wind was blowing was evidenced by a belated decree, issued just before his retirement, that no lands should be distributed to villages, which had not put the lands already in their possession under adequate cultivation. Calles, shortly after inauguration, made a statement wiser than any made during his campaign:

The application of agrarian laws has produced, in part, the benefits desired by the revolutionary Governments. But these benefits will not, in my opinion, be completely obtained until the land problem is handled in a thorough and cohesive manner, which shall include not merely the giving of lands, but which shall also guarantee production, insuring that the person who receives land be furnished, in addition, with seeds, water, implements and credit necessary to cultivate the soil.

Calles told me of an extensive project to link up the workmen's compensation provision of the Constitution with the creation of a large floating fund for agricultural development. In other words, Calles, while extending economic and other rights, must keep in sight the laws of economic stability which rule the lives of nations. The problem is similar to that in Russia: to reconcile popular rights with the need for increased material production.



# The Conflict Between East and West in Canada

By FRANK BOHN

Writer and Lecturer on International Relations

WESTERN farm radicalism in the United States after a full generation of vicissitude and preparation, has at last brought forth a new political party and the whole American nation has been prepared for a drastic political realignment. In Canada the conflict is far more bitter than with us. The lines of sectional cleavage are more closely drawn and there is a greater geographical divergence. Our own East and West merge gradually together and with us there can never be serious talk of Western secession; but that ominous word is now actually heard in Western Canada. Canada's four Western Provinces are separated from her East by the barren, unsettled area of upper Ontario, 700 miles broad. The West contains 2,000,000 people, the East 7,000,000.

Throughout the prairie Provinces there rings a battle cry: "On to the Bay!" The objective is the great Hudson Bay, the "Baltic of America." The slogan has to do with the completion of the branch railway line from the Pas, on the Nelson River in Saskatchewan, to Port Nelson on the bay. This issue has assumed an importance far beyond its mere economic value to the West and has been made a bone of contention between the sections. To understand the importance of this issue, one must place before himself a map of Canada. It will be noted that Hudson Bay reaches deep into the western country. Port Nelson is an Atlantic salt water port located farther west than Minneapolis or Winnipeg. It is said that the craving for the taste and smell of salt water is an innate human instinct. Inland populations have always shown an intense desire

to establish seaports in their midst. The Canadian Westerners said to one another, "If we can ship our Western grain crop to Europe and import from Europe via Port Nelson, we can turn our backs on the greedy Eastern merchants and bankers." The people of the three prairie Provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta) sounded the slogan in unison. The merchant class of the West is entirely dependent upon the farmers. Meanwhile, the Eastern commercial interests ridiculed the idea that Port Nelson could ever be an important competitor of theirs. In the last session of the Canadian Parliament Eastern interests again prevented the completion of the Port Nelson Branch. Western irritation turned into anger.

Approximately \$17,000,000 has already been expended by the Dominion Government upon this improvement. The work was continued till the Spring of the year 1918. Then, when the project might have been completed by the expenditure of only \$1,000,000 more, the work was suddenly stopped. Deterioration will now necessitate the expenditure of \$4,000,000.

Port Nelson is almost exactly the same distance from Liverpool as Montreal, that is, 3,000 miles. Wheat shipped from Regina, the capital of Saskatchewan, via Port Nelson, would save 1,050 miles in transport; from Calgary, the capital of Alberta, 1,150 miles, and from Prince Albert, in Central Saskatchewan, 1,300 miles. Port Nelson is the last great Atlantic outlet to be opened up. The improvement has a romantic, as well as an economic and political aspect. If it is completed Canada will be served by a totally new route to Europe. This way will take the

tourist up to the sixty-fifth degree of north latitude, thence out to Hudson Strait and down past the tip of Greenland. It will naturally draw its Summer tourist trade from our entire Middle West. It will open up all the great Hudson Bay district to settlement and development. Hudson Bay, called the "Baltic of the North," might perhaps better be called the Mexican Gulf of the North. The West has been dreaming of this route for forty years. No wonder that the prairie Provinces await the laying of this final piece of track with an interest combining anxiety with anger.

Port Nelson is at the mouth of the Nelson River, which, with its tributaries, is the second greatest river of Canada. Though not opened to navigation because of its falls and rapids, it vies with Niagara as a future source of hydroelectricity. The Government engineers reported that 3,000,000 horsepower may be developed between Lake Winnipeg and the bay, and this is only a small part of what the great Northwest of Canada has to offer. The only possible question as regards the ad-

visability of developing Port Nelson concerned the practicability of navigation in the bay. This part of the argument turned upon the question as to whether the open season of the bay was two months, three months, four months, or five months. During the Winter the bay, though open in the middle, freezes around its edges, sometimes to a width of fifty miles. With the Spring thaw there is a great drift of icebergs and pack-ice down through Fox Channel and into the bay and Hudson Strait. A hundred miles beyond the mouth of the strait the Arctic current sweeps the bergs southward, sometimes as late as the middle of July. Last Spring a Montreal newspaper contended that the average open season was only two months long—from July 20 to Sept. 20. If this were true the argument would be at an end, but it is not true.

As early as 1920 a committee of the Canadian Senate made a very satisfying report upon the subject. The committee, numbering twelve members, represented all sections of the country. In



Map of Canada, showing the route to Port Nelson (on Hudson Bay), which it is contended should be used as an outlet for the Western Provinces



the course of its investigation it examined twenty-one witnesses, each of whom was selected and interrogated because of his knowledge of the subject. The list included sea captains with Hudson Bay experience, members of the Northwest Mounted Police who had been stationed for long periods of time in the bay country, servants of the Hudson Bay Company, and finally, that most capable of all polar explorers, Stefansson. The consensus of opinion was that navigation of the bay was generally possible from early in July to early in October. It was brought out that the use of a specific sort of ship, one built so as to make headway through a light flow of ice, might usually continue navigating until the first of November. With all this testimony in mind, the committee reported that "the Hudson Bay route is feasible and will probably in time be profitable." The committee also emphasized the great value of the fisheries, which could be developed both in the bay and in the waters tributary to it. Finally, the committee was entirely persuaded that the statements of Stefansson were factual and sound in opinion. He drew attention to the enormous mineral resources that might be developed in the Hudson Bay district. He recommended the breeding of vast herds of reindeer and musk-oxen, and emphasized the fact that a civilized population of white men could be settled about the bay and live there in comfort and happiness.

#### THE CANADIAN FARMER IN POLITICS

As in the United States, the Progressive political party in Canada was from its beginnings primarily a farmer's organization. The farmers of Ontario initiated the movement by making their province the Wisconsin of Canada. In 1919 the "United Farmers of Ontario" returned forty-four members to the Provincial Parliament. Although they were not a majority of the members, they were the largest group and so were entrusted with the Provincial Government. As with our North Dakota Non-Partisan Leaguers, local political power proved to be a disillusionment in the



Keystone

W. L. MACKENZIE KING  
Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada

end. Being a minority government, they were prevented from taking drastic action of any sort. But their victory at once threw the farmers into political action throughout the Dominion.

In January, 1920, a general progressive political convention of all the provinces was held at Winnipeg. It formed the "National Progressive Party." There was much hesitancy shown by the Western members. They had functioned, hitherto, through the grain growers' organization, the purpose of which was purely economic. At first the Westerners did not wish to surrender economic action for political power. But the trend of the times was against them and the temptation among the farmers' leaders to go into high political office proved to be too strong. The Progressive Party formed a dues-paying membership like that of the Non-Partisan League. During the following year the organization totaled

85,000 members in the prairie Provinces, 50,000 in Ontario and 7,500 in the Maritime Provinces. But a stumbling block appeared in the way. The French-Canadian farmers of Quebec were held firmly to the Liberal Party by their local leadership. In the present Government of Canada the National Progressive Party has sixty-six members out of a total of 234. It is the leading Opposition party. The Conservatives have only fifty. The Liberal Government of Mackenzie King is based upon a majority of 119.

The fact should be emphasized that the Winnipeg Convention, upon the occasion of the organization of the Progressive Party, strongly emphasized the general character of the movement. Its resolutions declared that it stood for "The greatest good to the greatest number." It was in "no sense a demand for special legislation to benefit a few." It based itself upon no "vocational class platform." The western delegates succeeded in preventing union with the independent Labor Party, as had been done in Ontario.

The farmers of Canada discovered how difficult it was, in any English-speaking democracy, to effect any permanent realignment of the voters. The demand of the rank and file of the farmers, as of the wage workers, was always for immediate economic benefits. The tendency of their political representatives, if in the minority, was to be driven into alliance with some other group which offered immediate power. In the United States Congress this was developed into a very clever system by Mr. La Follette. But in Canada the Liberals are now in power and they are being very ably and shrewdly led by Mr. Mackenzie King. So the Progressive Party is caught upon the horns of a very dangerous dilemma. Liberal reforms of Mr. King endanger them from one side. They can withdraw from these entanglements only by allying themselves with the Conservatives, who represent big business and a high protective tariff. Within the coming year we shall witness the final struggles of the Ca-

nadian farmers' political party to keep its head above water and swim through to renewed life.

#### THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFLICT

Like so many great sectional conflicts in the life of a rapidly growing nation, the strife between East and West in Canada led to a bitter constitutional struggle. The issue turned upon the place and power of the Dominion Senate. The members of the Canadian Senate are not elected, but are appointed by the Government in power. They number one hundred. By custom and not according to constitutional provisions, they are divided among the Provinces according to population. This gives the four western Provinces their share of the number. There was no argument at this point. The conflict raged about the fact that *the Senators are appointed for life*. A new Senator leaves his provincial home in the Far West and lives for twenty or forty years in Ottawa, but three hours' ride from Montreal. The tendency is for him to lose touch with the popular mind. The longevity of the Senators is humorously proverbial. The Canadian upper house is now the most powerful and the most reactionary legislative body left in the English-speaking world. It wields a much greater influence in Canada than does our Supreme Court in this country. There is no constitutional means whatever, short of an appeal in certain cases to the House of Lords, of overcoming a Senatorial majority. The Westerners now propose to lay the axe at the root of the tree.

The last Canadian budget provided for the construction of a number of short branch railway lines in the Prairie Provinces. They were to connect outlying towns and lonely farm districts with the main lines. The defeat of the branch lines railway bill last Summer fanned the growing anger of the West to fever heat.

The Manitoba Free Press of Winnipeg is probably the most important journal of all Western Canada. Its observations epitomize hundreds of similar editorials



which ran for weeks in the western press. This paper said that,

The butchering of the branch lines program of the Canadian National by the Senate ought to make the question of Senate reform from this moment forward one of the liveliest issues in Canada. The Government had provided for the improvements. The Commons had voted their acceptance. Then in the Senate, plainly the fulfillment of which had been laid in secret, line after line had been butchered.

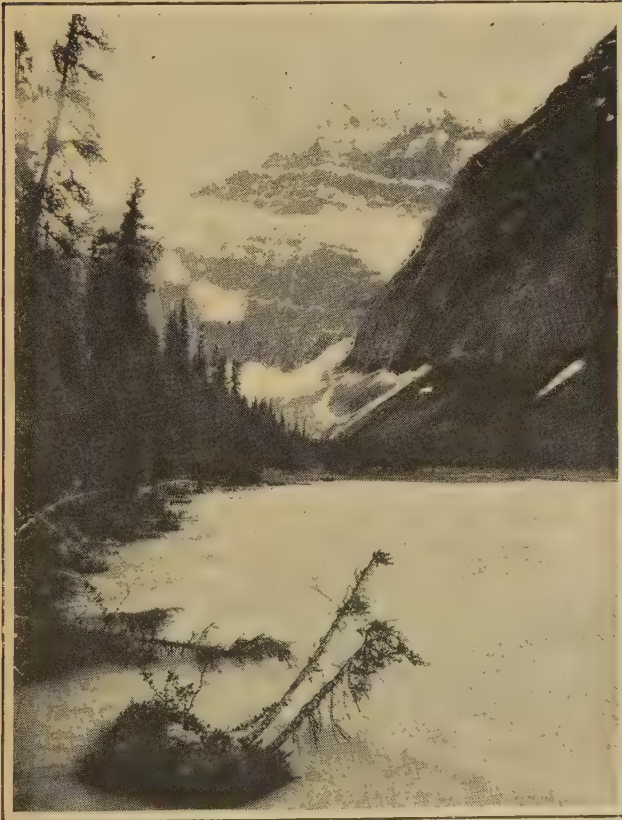
There need be no doubt as to the significance of this action by Sir James Loughheed and those who did his bidding. It is an attempt by the Senate to establish a decisive measure of control, upon a critical issue, over the House of Commons. The powers behind the screen who regard themselves as entitled to govern Canada are finding the House of Commons a little more difficult to hold. So it is a case of Sir James and his septuagenarians,

octogenarians and valetudinarians to the rescue.

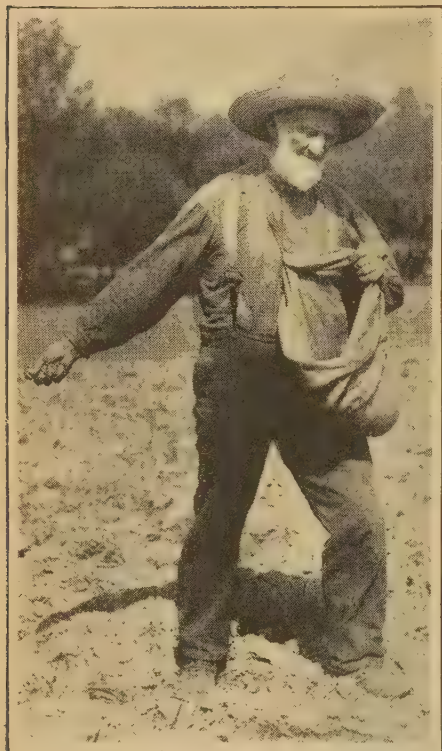
Constituted as it is, representing nothing but the insensate partisanship of the past, irresponsible, the Senate has no moral right to destroy measures which the Commons, bearing the authority of the people and responsible to them, hold necessary for the well-being of the country. Our Senate has no vestige of a mandate. The Senators making up the majority which destroyed the branch lines represent nothing but the "hang over" of a political period that has past. Their former associates are out of public life or in opposition; but they, by virtue of our absurd constitutional provision with respect to a second Chamber, are able to perpetuate their rule, in a negative sense, by vetoing the decisions of the men whom the people preferred to them. A truly democratic spectacle!

But chiefly they killed the bills for the branch lines because the "invisible government" wanted them killed. Government ownership is a doctrine abhorred in the counting rooms of Montreal; therefore the bills were killed.

What is to be done about it? Mere protest against the Senatorial audacity will not get us very far. Pious generalities about the need for "Senate reform" will only move the people to laughter. But if the members of the House of Commons who have been buffeted in the face will declare war not only on the prejudiced, partisan, backward-looking reactionaries who today control the Senate, but against the system which makes it possible for men of this type to be in control of the Senate, we shall free ourselves, in the course of a comparatively short time, from this constitutional incubus. Mr. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, has let it be known on various occasions that both by disposition and hereditary obligation he is a slayer of dragons. \* \* \* Well, Mr. King, there before you is the Senate!



Mount Edith Cavell, Jasper National Park, Alberta, Canada



▲ Canadian pioneer sowing wheat in the old-fashioned way

The Government of Saskatchewan, through its Premier, Mr. McNab, sent a stirring protest to Mr. King. "The people of Saskatchewan," this statement read, "resent the action of the Senate so strongly as to demand a change in the Constitution placing the Senate under control of the Commons in Great Britain."

Though the voice of the West seemed to be unanimous, Eastern Liberals also joined in the attack. The *Toronto Star* in an indignant editorial declared that

The big interests have thrown down the gauntlet, and the Liberals and Progressives should pick it up. Senators with life jobs should not be permitted to prevent the growth and successful operation of the people's own railway. Strong, bold action by the House of Commons' majority should follow the wrecking tactics of the Senate at Ottawa.

Judging from these two statements it would seem that Liberals and Progressives have large common ground for an

immediate stand. The question now rests with the Premier. His difficulty lies in the fact that the Quebec Liberals shrink from tampering with the British North America act. The French are a minority. The Constitution of the country gives them ample protection. They do not like to entrust their peculiar interests to the winds of change.

#### THE THREAT OF SECESSION

Talk of secession of the Western Provinces from the Dominion and of the possibility of annexation to the United States, may be heard in Western Canada.

Annexation has been a fading issue since the generation of Goldwin Smith. It is the situation in the West which has again stirred the minds of some of the more radical citizens of Canada to such revolutionary thinking. One must analyze a cross section of the Western Canadian population in order to comprehend the complexity of western opinion. The Western Canadian population is made up approximately as follows: Americans, 40 per cent.; Canadians (English-speaking and French), 30 per cent.; British, 20 per cent., and continental Europeans, 10 per cent. These elements are by no means welded into a homogeneous people. Economic distress leads to political rebellion. In such a milieu, almost any suggestion, however unsound, finds ready support. The Americans, though loyal to Canada, cannot be expected to develop a pro-British attitude and Canada must be more and more British unless she wishes to become more and more American. Second, there is a much greater psychological difference between the native Canadian and the British immigrant than between the Canadian and the American.

The western farmers insistently demand free trade with the United States, or at most a very low tariff. This is the second primary cause of conflict between East and West. The general Canadian tariff rate has been 40 per cent. This has been somewhat reduced by the present Government. But a Canadian farmer still pays \$550 for a motor car



which, with free trade, he could purchase in the United States for \$400. The same holds true of all his farming machinery and his household utensils. The Canadian manufacturer simply adds the exact amount of the tariff to the American price. Clothing, including shoes, and lumber, are somewhat cheaper in Canada. But it may be safely stated that, as regards living expenses generally, a dollar in Canada, with exchange at par, now purchases no more than 80 cents in the United States. If the American dollar is at a premium in Canada, the situation is still worse for the Canadian consumer.

People in rich and prosperous America have come to consider discussion of the tariff question as tiresome and unprofitable. But in Canada it is a very living issue. The vast majority of the western farmers live humbly. As a class they are intelligent, eager and ambitious. They crave prosperity with all the good things which economic prosperity will bring. Virgin soils with high prices for grain and meat drew over 1,000,000 Americans into the Western Provinces. Low prices for farm products and the high general cost of living are again turning the tide the other way. Wheat at \$1.50 per bushel at Winnipeg will do more to allay sectional irritation and make for national peace than all the political reforms which can be thought of. Yet a conflict which has raged and smoldered and flamed again for a century and a half on this continent will not easily die out. No Easterner who

has not lived in the Far West ever comprehends the vast differences of mind and manners which always separate the two sections. The East is settled, static, conservative. The West has always the restless, trouble-breeding, progressive mind and hand of the pioneer. The East is creditor. The western toiler in field and forest, has the debtor's dislike for him who takes usurious toll of land and labor. Perfect harmony between the two sections would seem to be impossible.

In conclusion we may reflect that seven-tenths of the total territory of the Dominion of Canada is included in the four Western Provinces and the unsettled Northern areas tributary to them. It is in this vast region that the future Canadian nation will evolve. The Eastern Provinces, from Ontario to Nova Scotia, were they to be left alone, would look and feel small indeed. They will be too wise to let the issue drift into the political tragedy of secession. Their commercial and investing leadership will hold the West in leash only so long as they feel that they can do so with impunity. Whenever they see their hold slipping, they will be shrewd enough to give way. Just so our own Eastern interests, in the end, have always surrendered politically to the West. We shall soon see the Westerner triumphant all along the line, including the Hudson Bay Line. Canada will weather the present storm and go on safely to her resplendent future as an independent and united nation.



# Britain's Negro Problem in Sierra Leone

By W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

AFRICA is always the unexpected. Thus Pedro da Cintra, sailing along the low West African coast in 1462, suddenly saw the Lion Mountain leap and roar to the silver sea. He called these fifty miles of singing headland Sierra Leone, and one sees today that couchant Lion from the ocean, the great twin-humped mountain that comes down close to the waters so contrary to one's preconceived notions of the African coast. All along here, and particularly at Sharbro Island, which lies low, yonder to the right, the slave trade flourished in the eighteenth century until the campaign of Clarkson and Wilberforce, and then in 1787 there began an experiment.

Today still at Sierra Leone the mountain comes down to the sea, looming in curve and peak over the sweep of the harbor. Freetown looks large and wide, built of white and red stone, flinging rows of homes far along the sea, and a gleam of villas up the mountain side. It is a beautiful sight of a sunny morning; hot and dusty at noon-tide; and always full of folk and puzzling. Puzzling because one senses anomaly here, history built on history, abandoned, built again. Yonder from the low mouth of the wide river sweep in great canoes, with white uptipping rhomboidal sails, long canoes full of black men. Rhythmically they float across the bay, flashing paddles deftly plied. They somehow speak of Carthaginian triremes with white-swathed figures at prow and stern and lean dark bodies amidships. And sure enough somewhere here Carthaginians and Phoenicians landed 2,500 years ago.

Here, then, on silver sea lie past and present. But in the street one rubs one's eyes. Here is the garb of the West Indies: the wide, loose, gay gown

sweeping the instep, the flowing turbaned kerchief. In these garments live the memories of maroons and creoles who came along years ago, some by way of Nova Scotia. There is the English black man, sometimes university bred and immaculate; sometimes from the local schools; a man varied in language and outlook and appearance. There are the natives, for native suburbs gird the town—Krootown, Congoland and the like. One sees them with loin cloth and with flowing Arabian robes. A black Mohammedan does his orisons beneath my window. "Allah-il-Allah! —Allah Akbar"—kneeling on his mat. There are always white subalterns in khaki, silent, almost watchful.

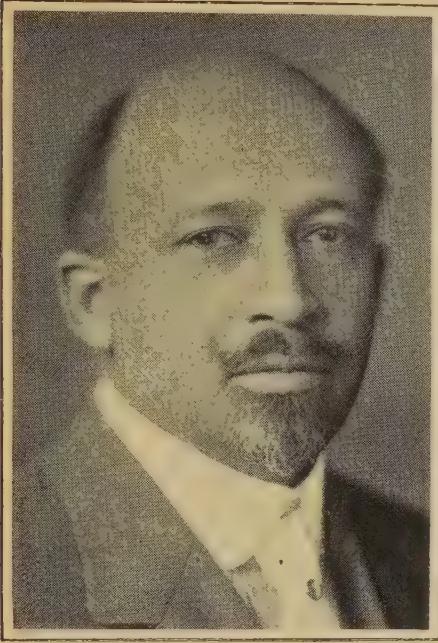
I sense unrest in Freetown. This city of forty thousand people has evidently had waves of prosperity and adversity. Curious chapters of economic history could be dug up here, I am sure; for first the colony was a philanthropy, then a trading company, then since 1808 a Crown colony. Today it falls into two parts, and thereby hangs a long and curved tale.

It all began with the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century, and

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William Edward Burghardt Du Bois is one of the most brilliant and distinguished American writers of negro descent. Born at Great Barrington, Mass., on Feb. 23, 1868, he was a student at Fisk University, Tennessee; Harvard (where he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy), and the University of Berlin. He was Professor of Economics and History at Atlanta University from 1896 to 1910, and has been Publicity Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and editor of *The Crisis* since 1910. He is the author of the "Suppression of the Slave Trade," "The Philadelphia Negro," "The Souls of Black Folk," "John Brown," "The Quest of the Silver Fleece," "The Negro," "Darkwater," and "The Gift of Black Folk." He is also editor of the *Atlanta University Studies of the Negro Problem*. Mr. Du Bois's most interesting recent activity has been his work as founder of the Pan-African Congresses, in connection with which he visited various colonies in Africa and on which the present article throws some light.





W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

England's far-sighted vision of coming changes in industrial organization. The slave trade declined and this coast became a refuge for recaptured slaves. Black and poor prowlers from England. Maroons from Jamaica and Nova Scotia, load after load of slaves recaptured on the high seas, not to mention a cargo of white prostitutes from England, were dumped on these shores to stew and strive and live and die. All of these pieces of peoples, intermingled groups of individuals from the West Indies, from all parts of the African interior, from the United States and from Nova Scotia, began to settle down and develop along certain lines. By the middle of the nineteenth century the English mission schools were turning out some fairly well educated young people. The older people were grasping at a more or less stable economic foothold: buying from England, selling some raw products. As time went on some of them sent their sons and daughters to England. Some sent their wives, too, and established their families there for purposes of education.

Very slowly, but certainly, there arose in British West Africa a group of negroes with educated leadership, a few with the best modern university training. England was rather negligently proud of them. They were curiosities when they appeared in London. Queen Victoria's Government promised them eventual autonomy and the chance to set up for themselves, presumably as an independent country. On March 3, 1865, a select committee of the House of Commons resolved "that the object of our policy should be to encourage in the natives the exercise of those qualities which may render it possible for us more and more to transfer to them the administration of all the Governments with a view to our ultimate withdrawal." Pursuing this policy and with the energetic pushing forward of the negroes the colony was virtually in the hands of black folk by 1890. Sir Samuel Lewis, a colored man, had been Chief Justice. McCarthy was Queen's Counsel and the people were voting and electing their own officials.

#### THE PARTITION OF AFRICA

Meantime matters changed. Africa became a great open land for new raw material. Instead of giving up African colonies, the European nations after the middle of the nineteenth century began to scramble for all the territory they could get there and by 1885 had it definitely divided up. English business began to move out to Africa, and when it moved to West Africa it met the educated negro leader. What happened? One can best sense this by going to Sierra Leone today.

You see a country of black folk, of black folk of all degrees of wealth and education. At the Governor's garden party I met black men and women of culture and manners. They would have been at home in any cultured assembly. Their dress was not that of the latest London tailors and yet they were well dressed. The women perhaps, most of all, followed least the latest styles and yet they were soft-voiced, restrained and pleasant. It was interest-

ing to see that garden party. The Governor was conventionally English, tall and slim, with white top hat and morning coat. His wife was the gracious Great Lady. Around them were Englishmen and negroes, but they did not mingle. Yet their lack of mingling was altogether different from anything I

versation white very seldom spoke with black or black with white. There was a sense of independence, not necessarily hostility. They acted rather as people of the same social status who had not been introduced.

There were other anomalies. Up the side of the Lion Mountain, and reached



Map of West Africa, showing the position of the British Colony and Protectorate of Sierra Leone

have seen. In the black belt of the Southern United States white and black do not mingle, but the line is definitely and openly defined. There is a place for the blacks, and wander and swagger as they will they never cross the line. Yet across that definite and mutually recognized line the races talk and banter quite good-naturedly. Here in Sierra Leone there was no such line visible. Now a black man, now a white man would greet the Governor and his lady. But when they stopped for con-

versation white very seldom spoke with black or black with white. There was a sense of independence, not necessarily hostility. They acted rather as people of the same social status who had not been introduced. There were other anomalies. Up the side of the Lion Mountain, and reached





Cape Sierra Leone lighthouse

nered. His wife was intelligent. You met other men—lawyers, teachers, physicians, men of culture and distinction. The great mass of the people were black; the stores were kept largely by black people, although the great emporiums and wholesale houses were in the hands of whites, and even there colored clerks were employed. If you went to the courts the Judges and Government prosecutors were all white, but the lawyers were all black.

There was busy commerce in the port. The ships were English, manned by white Englishmen. The great and dominant commercial houses were white. The Chamber of Commerce, which had its own representative in the Governor's Council, was predominantly white, with only a few black members. Seeing all this you sat down and began to think and wonder what had happened there. Blacks were ruling and yet they were

subordinate. Manifestly, here in Africa and in a country with a small but evident black leadership, there was social and residential segregation by race; there was a degree of disfranchisement that left the negroes almost without political power; there was a peonage of the great mass of natives that kept them at work at low wages with little profit, and there was very little popular education.

I knew how this sort of thing was accomplished elsewhere. In the country districts of the Southern South in our own land the thing is done by brute force. In the cities of the South, on the other hand, the same thing would be accomplished by the interference of the police and the courts. In the Northern United States the same thing is approximated by the distribution of wealth. A negro cannot buy in good residential districts because he has not the income,



View of Freetown from the harbor

and may not usually get sufficient income. But how is all this accomplished in British West Africa with a predominantly negro population, with a degree of highly educated negro leadership and with only a handful of whites?

#### PARADOX OF NEGRO RULE

Sierra Leone proper, with Freetown and some 450 square miles about it, is a settlement dominated by civilized negroes of all types. When the partition of Africa added 31,000 square miles of hinterland to this, there arose a dilemma. Legally, Freetown would rule the hinterland and if Freetown had been white there would have been no questions raised; it would have been "home rule," divine right. But Freetown was black and aggressively black and, true to its great principle of divide and conquer, England proceeded to drive a wedge between native and civilized blacks and to back this movement with propaganda; the black West African was all right in a way and capable of some training; rather good as a clerk and small merchant, but he would never do as a ruler. White men must rule.

At a time, then, when blacks were ris-

ing in the Government and civil service of Sierra Leone, the professions and trade, and were on the way to dominate colony and protectorate, there came a new dispensation. The power of the blacks was strictly confined to the 450 square miles of Freetown and vicinity, and here their political power was narrowed and curtailed. Around the little negro republic which centred at Freetown there was built up a great protectorate. This super-government surrounded and choked and overshadowed the original black republic. The republic still has its feeble forms of government operating within the confines of Freetown. It has a City Council. It elects the Mayor and some other local officers. But its funds and powers of execution and expenditure are strictly curtailed. Practically direct taxation on land and houses is its only form of revenue. Police, sanitation, the harbor, business and commerce in general and all matters to do with the natives and education are all under the protectorate Government. And not only are the courts under the white protectorate, but as jurors must be black, the white court can at its will in criminal cases abolish



A group of officials and other employees of the Colonial Secretariat of Sierra Leone, which includes native negroes as well as whites sent out from England





Street scene in Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone

trial by jury, and in all cases the white Judges sitting as a Court of Appeal pass on their own judgments!

Thus the Government of the Protectorate is white, is overshadowing, is all-powerful. At the head of this Government is the autocratic Governor who is practically a king by divine right. He is in reality responsible only to the Colonial Office and the Colonial Office in London is responsible to no one. The policy of the white government is to curtail the functions of what remains of the negro government; to keep the educated and voting negroes as far as possible from all contact with the natives and the natives from all such leadership. The territory where the natives live is divided into districts, and over each is a District Commissioner responsible to the Governor and with practically unlimited power over the natives.

The civil service in its upper branches is largely confined to white men who receive high salaries with many and valuable perquisites. In a country where the income of the mass of people is very small, and where the average pay of colored civil servants is \$350 a year, the Governor gets \$20,000 a year, a mansion and Summer bungalow; the Secretary, Treasurer, Con-

troller of Customs, three Commissioners and medical officials get from \$5,000 to \$6,000 a year each and homes. The Chief Justice and Attorney General get \$10,000 and \$6,000 and homes, and other white men receive from \$4,000 to \$5,000. In all, 203 Europeans receive nearly \$550,000 a year in salaries. In addition to this are numerous pensions, paid in England from the local revenue, ranging from \$50 to \$2,500 a year. A man who could scarcely earn \$2,000 in England comes out to Sierra Leone at a salary of \$5,000, with all the witchery of authority over "niggers."

#### SUBMISSIVE NATIVE CHIEFS

The native tribes are ruled by the Governor and his Commissioners through their chiefs; that is, chiefs who accept white rule and behave and send down palm oil, kernels, rice and other articles, receive money and favors from the Government and its Commissioners and are held in power. Those who do not soon lose their influence and are driven from power. In return, the Government builds roads, makes crop experiments and furnishes a little education for the chiefs' sons through elementary schools superintended by white men. The Governor and his appointees raise by indirect taxation a revenue of

about \$4,000,000 a year. Nearly all the white people in the colony are officials and merchants. The officials have a special status made for them because they are officials. The most beautiful and salubrious residential district in the colony is officially assigned to these persons for residence. The Government makes their roads, builds their houses, lays out their tennis courts and golf links. The officials ride on a special car on the trains, thus practically inaugurating a "Jim Crow" car system. The sanitary and medical systems are announced as inaugurated "to make Sierra Leone habitable by white folk."

The white merchants are united in a Chamber of Commerce, which has representation upon the Governor's Council, and consequently the right to present its views. Moreover, since it represents the chief source of revenue upon which the Government is based, and since through its English commercial connections it exerts strong influence in the Colonial Office in London, its views must be received with attention. There is no evident color line to the membership in this Chamber of Commerce and there are a few colored members; but the membership fee is high—\$125 a year—and there is no restriction upon the number of memberships which any commercial organization may take. The great Elder-Dempster shipping monop-

oly and similar companies may easily take out a dozen or more memberships should that be necessary in order to dominate the chamber. On the other hand, most small black merchants would not join at all. Why should they waste \$125?

Education hitherto has been almost entirely missionary. Sometimes the missionaries have done good work, as in the case of Fourah Bay College, the only effective institution of higher learning today in all West Africa. In other cases the work has been fragmentary and of little account. The Governor has begun some education. The system is incomplete and the appropriations amount to only \$125,000 a year.

The whole administration of the natives in the interior has to have for its paramount object revenue—revenue to the State, profit to the trader and cheap raw materials for the English manufacturers. The best method of increasing trade revenue is to maintain peace and quiet, which is achieved through using the chiefs, bribing them, cajoling them, displacing them. Although some Commissioners and some Governors try to develop advance movements and reorganization and uplift of native life, most of them, of necessity, are content if they can secure a peaceful flow of palm oil and other native products from the interior to the coast.



Mayor May of Freetown with members of his family and friends in the garden of his residence





The waterfront of Freetown, which is said to have one of the finest natural harbors in the world

Here, then, is the problem: One is astonished at the ingenuity of its solution. One wonders how much might not have been accomplished if half the ingenuity used here had been used really to build up and develop the African in Africa. As it is, there is inevitably race conflict in West Africa. On the one hand one hears of impudent and half-educated negro leaders in silk hats and long coats who want to rule and exploit the natives for their own aggrandizement; and, on the other hand, one hears of English officials living in luxury at high salaries, pensioned for life at the expense of the black taxpayer after a comparatively few years' service, responsible to nobody for their actions, and desiring only self-aggrandizement and profit for English merchants and investors.

Out of this situation has grown agitation. This agitation has naturally thrown the black community into warring conflicts. There are colored people who gain by the present arrangement. Always the Government has something in its gift for colored men. There are few but possible imperial honors to be dis-

tributed. Then there is a large class that says: "What's the use? What can we do against the might of England? After all England does do things well. She brings out English experts who can give us better sanitation than Africans can. She brings out trained administrators with whom we cannot compete. She administers our finances. Why not bear it and hope for adjustment in the future?" Then there are the radicals with wild criticism, with personal grievance, with personal failures. Despite all this there were always strong negroes in Sierra Leone who declared that West Africa belonged to West Africans and demanded the abolition of color discrimination in the civil service and color discrimination in residence. Such men were marked, naturally, for governmental disapprobation, and against them were pushed forward puppets, "white folks' niggers," who pretended that all was well when one considered the shortcomings of the black folk.

The first reaction of black West Africa was to win the battle by individual ability; to push their young men forward; to give them the best university



• Faculty and students of Fourah Bay College for missionaries in Sierra Leone

training, particularly in the professions, and thus gradually to work colored men into the civil service and into power. This path of advance was pretty effectually stopped by governmental action. Whereas in 1892 a black man, Sir Samuel Lewis, was acting Chief Justice of Sierra Leone, and Maxwell Chief Magistrate of Gambia and Frans Smith Acting Chief Justice of the Gold Coast, lately no black man has been appointed Judge or held any judicial office under the Government. For a while it was impossible for competent black men with first-class university degrees in medicine to secure appointment in the African Medical Service, and when finally, by continued agitation, some were appointed, they were put in a special African department at lower salaries than the white men who had pursued exactly the same courses and passed the same examination. The black people began to see that their fight for individual advancement was not only systematically blocked by the white Governors and their appointees, but that they were losing in their battle the support and sympathy of the natives.

Now the natives of Sierra Leone and its hinterland are men with a mighty history back of them, a history of organization, education, State building, literature and art. They are a part of that great development of human culture in Western Africa which lately has been

brought to the attention of the civilized world. They come within the history of the coast reaching from the mouth of the Gambia to the mouth of the Niger, 3,000 miles, where a marvelous drama of world history has been enacted. Here, as Frobenius thinks, was the fabled Atlantis; here came Phoenicians and Carthaginians; and from the interior came the Yoruba-Benin-Dahomey peoples. Behind them came the Mossi, and upon the high plateau toward the Central Sudan arose, in the past, the great empires of the Mellistine and the Songhay. War, conquest and the slave trade have swept over these peoples and left them disintegrated and bewildered, but they have still the material of great nations. Gradually, then, the new and Europeanized blacks leading Sierra Leone began to get in touch with the chiefs and thinkers of the remaining groups of these native States. This was easier as time went on because some of the sons of the chiefs and of the great families had been among the young men educated in the missionary schools and sent to Europe.

Finally, this whole agitation and fight came to a head in a National Congress of British West Africa, which met at Accra on the Gold Coast in 1920. There were present representatives from Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Nigeria. The meeting had been projected in 1915 and pushed further in 1916, but



came to a head finally only in 1920. The object, as stated by F. W. Dove, a colored man, of Sierra Leone, was:

Firstly, to effect a union between the four colonies; secondly, to stimulate public interest in matters affecting public welfare; thirdly, to give greater weight to West African opinion. \* \* \* We believe we have passed the days of childhood which have been associated for years past with the black man. In other words we believe the days have passed when it was commonly supposed that the African is like a child and must be forced against his will. The time has passed when the African peoples should be coerced against their will to do things that are not in accordance with their best interests or for their benefit.

#### AFRICAN NATIVES' DEMANDS

The conference sat for a week, debated the situation thoroughly, drew up a splendid set of documents and sent a deputation to England. Official England refused to receive the deputation. English newspapers were dumb. The door of the Colonial Office was closed in their faces. But all this was in vain. The congress became a permanent body. It met again in Bathurst in January, 1922, and is preparing for a third meeting. A permanent office under a General Secretary is maintained at Secondee, Gold Coast. One of the speakers

who opened the discussion at the meeting said:

Each one of these delegates is an African belonging to a distinctive African family and thereby commanding the right of property and other interests either in his own right or in the right of the family to which he belongs. It follows from this that, apart from the fact of the delegates to the conference being the natural leaders of the people of their several communities, they have in themselves the right to appeal to his Majesty's Government for such constitutional reforms as in their judgment are necessary. But over and above the foregoing circumstances indicating the status of the delegates, they carry with them the support of the people who, whether educated or uneducated, are sufficiently alive to the importance at this hour of seeking for the amelioration of British West African political conditions.

I need hardly remind you that our empire has just emerged from a great war, in the course of which all its members have more or less made sacrifices of some sort. In this the several British West African communities have not been behindhand and the official records show the extent of their efforts. I believe I speak your minds when I say that British West Africa is entitled to and expects some consideration at the hands of his Majesty's Government. We know that India has been recognized and given a constitution which to a large extent will meet some of her most crying wants. Egypt is also about to receive a constitution, and Malta has already



Cotton Tree railway station on the line that runs from Freetown to Government House, the residence of the Governor of Sierra Leone



Officers of the Highland Lodge, Sierra Leone

been accorded self-government. Is it too much to ask and to expect that British West Africa should also receive due consideration?

Resolutions were adopted demanding self-government, education suited to African conditions, opportunities for commercial development, trial by jury and the reform of land abuses which favored private companies.

Despite the official attitude which the British Government at first assumed, it was compelled to give way. In 1922 Nigeria was granted a Legislative Council with a minority of elected members, the majority still being appointed by the autocratic Governor. In 1923 the Gold Coast was given a similar grant, and in 1924 Sierra Leone leaving Gambia for subsequent action. To gauge the meaning of this we must remember that in Sierra Leone the former Legislative Council consisted of twelve persons, eight white colonial officials and four "unofficial" members (three black and one white). All these were appointed

by the Governor. The new system has twenty-one members of Council, eleven official and ten unofficial. Of the unofficial members three are elected by the people, two nominated by commercial interests and five appointed by the Governor. Of these five, three are to be native chiefs and two others colored men. It is a muddled and indefinite step, but it is a little step toward democracy in West Africa. Naturally the Africans are not placated with this sop and they are protesting and pushing. Concessions in the civil service are being made. In the West African Medical Service, established "for the health of the whites," seven of the twenty physicians are now negroes. Certain "African" assistants in the Treasury and Colonial offices are being appointed, junior to the white Secretaries and with less pay. This slow and grudging and illiberal yielding is in vain. Black British West Africa is out for self rule and in our day it is going to get it.



# The Iron Hand of Italy Over German Tyrol

By LILIAN FROBENIUS-EAGLE

Prominent German Feminist and Publicist, Resident in Berlin

THE visitor sitting in the sunny square of Bozen, dedicated to the famous medieval singer, Walther von der Vogelweide, sipping his coffee and watching the pigeons circle round the marble statue of the poet, is hardly able to appreciate the miserable plight of the German inhabitants of that and other towns in South Tyrol. He thrills to the beauty of the landscape, the green valley of the Etsch, lying between vine-clad mountains, and enjoys to the full the romance of the Old-World town, with its Gothic buildings, queer vaulted stone booths and winding, narrow streets, which on market days are peopled with picturesque mountaineers in national costume, leading their mules and packhorses from some distant village perched high up over the town.

Perhaps, if the visitor remembers the town before the World War, he blushes with shame at seeing the Italian names of the streets and town and the Italian language used for all public directions and advertisements, which is all in striking contrast with the German names and the German language being spoken around him. If he is in any way a student of history, he knows that up to

the year 1918 the territory north and south of the Brenner Pass formed the famous land of Tyrol, peopled by a German tribe, with a common ancestry, a common language, common customs and common ideals. He may, perhaps, remember, too, that these folk were long renowned for their love of liberty and independence, that during the wars of Napoleon they were almost isolated in their daring defiance of the great adventurer, and that under the leadership of Andreas Hofer, the patriotic peasant, they freed their land from foreign invaders, although the peasant hero was, later, betrayed into the hands of the French and executed at Mantua. To appreciate rightly these



Map of Tyrol, which is divided into three parts—the portion that still belongs to Austria, German South Tyrol and the Trentino

proud, freedom-loving mountaineers, you must have lived among them, enjoyed their hospitality and shared their lives, as I had the privilege of doing for some years before the World War.

A cursory glance at the history of Tyrol shows that some 1,300 years ago a Teutonic tribe from Bavaria wandered down over the Brenner and settled on the sparsely populated slopes of the mountains, clearing away the wild forest land and building their farms separate and alone, very much as their descendants do to this day. Thus, from the sixth century down to the eleventh the region between the Brenner Pass and Bozen was entirely German. Gradually the people spread southward, so that in the thirteenth century the territory inhabited by them corresponded almost exactly to that of the Germanic region of today. The Germans have thus been rooted in this soil for a period of 500 to 1,300 years. The native population, a group of the Rhoetian-Roman peoples, similar to certain groups of the population of Switzerland, subsequently called the Ladinians, remained in the valleys of the Dolomite mountains, retaining their own language and customs and living peacefully side by side with the Germans. The Italian immigration into southern Ladinian territory of Tyrol began only in the fourteenth century. Favored by the Italian renaissance, it spread northward into the German territory in the sixteenth century and later, when aided by the Catholic Church in its struggles against the German Reformation, for which purpose Italian priests were substituted for Germans, thus facilitating the denationalization of numerous German communities. The Ladinians have always considered themselves as belonging to the land of Tyrol. When Napoleon wished to unite them with Italy they protested, declaring that they were not Italians. Again, in 1918, the Ladinians presented a memorandum to the Peace Conference setting forth their right as the oldest inhabitants of Tyrol to remain Germans and asserting that they had never been and never would be Italians. The great difference

in the appearance and manners of the two races is obvious even to strangers and accounts for their natural antagonism.

#### A GERMAN PROVINCE

The land of Tyrol was not only a German province, but was an independent political and economic unity, possessed of its own culture, which was always German in its general character. In the many famous castles and churches of South Tyrol we find over and over again the typical German Gothic architecture. The art of wood-carving, so highly developed in Tyrol, is but an outcome of the Gothic influence, while the German Gothic never penetrated into Italy. Names like those of such architects and artists as Conrad of Neumarkt, Hans Feuer, Michael Pacher and Matheis Stöberl of Sterzing are of worldwide repute. In the Middle Ages German South Tyrol was the home of the famous troubadour, Oswald von Wolkenstein, and the poet of chivalry, Walther von der Vogelweide, besides numerous minor poets. In the sixteenth century the Emperor Maximilian sent his writers to copy the "Book of the Heroes of the Etsch," and it is to the town of Bozen that we owe fragments of the great Nibelungen epos and that other German epic "The Song of Gudrun." After the age of chivalry came the miracle and passion plays, which reached their climax in the popular religious dramas acted at Bozen and Sterzing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and which survive in the Passion Play of Oberammergau of our own time.

After the Roman invasion the Romans never recognized the principal chain of the Alps between the Brenner Pass and the Reschenscheideck Pass as a boundary to Italy. Later Napoleon, who was likewise no mean strategist, in his partition of Tyrol between Italy and Bavaria, granted the greater part of South Tyrol to Italy and recognized the line of mountains south of the Alps as the natural line of defense for Italy. Following the movement for peace in





The Walterplatz, Bozen, Tyrol

1918, which was based on Wilson's fourteen points, it was not unnatural that a people that had over and over again in the course of history fought for the defense of their national liberty and rights should expect their independence to be respected. They believed that the new boundary of Italy would be so drawn as to give Italy the territory of Tyrol known as the Trentino, which is chiefly inhabited by Italians. This would have been a wise and equitable demarcation along the lines of language, a line, too, that for centuries had been a natural frontier between the two countries. The almost parallel mountain ridge is a geographical boundary, which at the same time offers the Italians a favorable strategic line, controlling the northern valley of the Etsch. But this was not to be.

In order to satisfy the greedy demands of an imperialistic program, and for so-called strategic reasons, the much vaunted ideal of the protection of the small nations was trampled under foot and Wilson granted the Italians the boundary they demanded—the Brenner line extending right through

the German part of Tyrol—in spite of the storm of protest raised by the Tyrolese, which was at the time expressed in special petitions they sent to Wilson. It appears that the members of the Supreme Council at the Peace Conference in Paris were misled by the Italian memorandum, which was drawn up chiefly from a military standpoint and abounded in apparent falsehoods, while all arguments raised by the Austrian Government met with deaf ears. Futile were all the appeals from the communities of Tyrol. Without further parley the Supreme Council ceded an alien territory to Italy, as if the inhabitants were so many pawns on a chessboard. At the time a petition signed by Mayors and Aldermen of some 228 parishes in German South Tyrol was submitted to the conference at St. Germain, expressing their grief and despair at being thus annexed to Italy without the right of plebiscite. At the same time the petition frankly stated that, free and autonomous, they would be safe and quiet neighbors of Italy, but as unwilling subjects they would remain an indignant and embittered people. Although

several American delegates resigned from further participation in the negotiations and Lord Bryce publicly took the part of Tyrol in England, all the rest of the world remained silent and indifferent to the fact that President Wilson's signature was bringing sorrow and in many cases economic ruin to 250,000 brave and independent people. Later, we read in Wilson's Memoirs that the President regretted his grave mistake in the partition of Tyrol, as it occurred before he had time to study the question carefully.

### ITALIAN PLEDGES

Although this violation of a great ideal was a blow to all the friends of national freedom, their fears were somewhat quieted at first by the high-sounding promises of local autonomy and freedom of language and religion made in the Italian Parliament. In 1919 the Italian delegate at St. Germain pledged his word that the language and cultural institutions of Tyrol would be respected and the land enjoy all the rights of a democratic constitution. Again, Luzatti in the Italian Chamber said: "We promise the Germans, whom we were forced to annex solely on strategic grounds, self-administration. They must be granted free and undisturbed religious and economic freedom. Only thus do we Italians follow the traditions of ancient Rome." Later, in his speech from the throne, the King made similar declarations.

For the first two years after the ratification of the Peace Treaty of Versailles the Italian Government observed these promises. In March, 1921, however, came the elections, which showed German South Tyrol to be a single electoral district, with the 40,567 voters (91 per cent. of those registered) casting their ballots thus: 36,574 for the candidates of the German People's Party, 3,993 for the Socialist Party and not a single vote for the Italians.

A noticeable change of tactics now took place on the part of the Italians toward the newly annexed land. Instead of continuing their policy in the

direction of self-administration, the Italian Government frankly and openly declared that the annexed Germans must resign all further thought of national autonomy for the good of the Italian nation at large and make the best they could of the situation. It was on April 24, 1921, that the people of Bozen first learned what the Fascist movement meant for Tyrol. A procession of citizens of the town, dressed in the national dress, celebrating a national holiday, was attacked by Italian Fascists. Several citizens were wounded and a school teacher was killed. Not one of the Fascists was arrested or punished in any way. Further deeds of violence repeatedly took place without any penalty being paid by the culprits. The chief schools of Bozen were seized by bands of Fascists, the German teachers driven away and Italians put in their places. The Town Hall was seized and the Mayor and Councillors were forced to give up office. On the Fascists assuming office in Rome their attitude toward the Germans became still more aggressive. In August, 1923, the Bozen Guildhall was illegally occupied by the Fascists, who have retained possession of it till now. Numerous local officials were dismissed from their posts without cause; parish Councils were abolished; German Magistrates were ejected, and many Austrian railway officials as well as private persons who had lived in Tyrol for many decades were expatriated. All petitions claiming the right of option remained unanswered or were summarily rejected, in many cases ruining the prospects of entire families. The methods proposed by the Fascists for the Italianization of the Tyrol were proclaimed in a speech by the chauvinist Senator Tolomei, in the theatre at Bozen on July 15, 1923, when he openly advocated the entire suppression of German nationality in South Tyrol. The chief measures mentioned by him have since then been put into operation.

The Italian-speaking *Trentino* and the German-speaking South Tyrol now form a single province called Trento, with



Trent, the headquarters of the most outspoken Italian chauvinism, as the central seat of administration. As the Italian laws, which are alone valid in the new province, have not yet been publicly proclaimed, the greatest confusion in legislative matters reigns everywhere. Every decree issued by the Government in Rome is carried out in the most exacting manner and the arbitrary acts of an uncontrolled police force are systematically approved of by the authorities at Trent. There is no court of appeal for the Tyrolese against undue infringement of their rights. The police are free to dissolve societies and corporations, arrest private persons and interfere with, annoy and humiliate public officials. All appeals against undue measures must be placed before a special commission in Rome, which has, so far, never once decided in favor of a German. Local self-government has been prohibited, the people being forced to nominate Italian officials chosen by the Italian Government, while the different districts are obliged to pay any informal taxes imposed upon them.

#### THE NAME TYROL SUPPRESSED

The use of the historic name of Tyrol, or German South Tyrol, is punished with imprisonment. The names of all towns and villages, as well as of most roads and streets, have become Italian, often to the great inconvenience of the inhabitants. The use of the German language has been prohibited in all public transactions. The monuments and pictures of famous national men have been removed from all schools and public places. All Alpine clubs and societies have been abolished in favor of the Italian club by a regulation of the Italian Government dated April 9, 1921. All new laws and regulations are promulgated in the Italian language. Almost daily new decrees are issued affecting remote villages and hamlets where no one understands them, with the result that infringements are punished with great severity. Sheriffs and Mayors are imprisoned and punitive taxes and contributions are exacted from the

villagers in order systematically to expropriate the inhabitants. In many cases German officials who were allowed to retain their posts have now been dismissed at a moment's notice, while Sicilians, unmarried men, who do not know a word of German, are nominated in their places. Private enterprises are forced to dismiss workmen and employ Italians, for whose physical and mental welfare the Government provides while suppressing the German institutions. Immediately before the gates of Meran, the famous health resort, the Italians are planning to build factories on expropriated land, thereby destroying the attraction the place has for invalids.

To aid in the task of administering the new province Carabinieri (the Italian police) swarm everywhere. Hundreds of Italians are now required to keep order in place of the few German policemen that formerly sufficed. For the same purpose there is also an Italian peace-time army of 15,000 men in German South Tyrol.

The form of oppression most objectionable to the Germans in Tyrol is the suppression of the German schools. In a proclamation made by General Pescori-Giraldi on Nov. 18, 1918, we read the following:

The Italian State \* \* \* is opposed to all oppression and suppression of alien races and languages and desires to live on a brotherly footing with its new subjects. In districts comprising a mixed population schools will be established in the different languages. In parishes where German is spoken the German national schools will be allowed to retain their language and all other schools may employ the German language as long as the methods of teaching do not offend the dignity of Italy. Italy, the great united nation, where full freedom of thought and feeling is allowed, will permit all her subjects of another language to retain their own schools, clubs and other institutions.

The Fascist Government, in spite of the much vaunted rights of the minority and various pledges and promises, has already suppressed all instruction in German in the lower classes in the



Natives of Meran, Tyrol, in national costume

elementary schools. The children of German parents are taught exclusively in the Italian tongue. In each successive year the higher classes are being Italianized so as to turn the children out instructed only in the Italian language. For the absolute elimination of the German language, more than four hundred schools are being closed. Private institutes are abolished on principle. German children are not even permitted to learn the German letters, so that they may not be able to read German at all. Hardest infliction of all on the devout, religious instruction is also given only in the Italian language. In all colleges and technical schools, only the Italian language is permitted, rendering those institutions useless to the Tyrolese agriculturists. The purpose of all this racial suppression as well as the deliberate neglect of education is to let the new generation grow up in absolute ignorance. At Bozen two of the German high schools have been closed. German instruction is permitted only in the higher grades in other schools as complementary to Italian. If this state of affairs continues, the Tyrolese assert

that in ten years the German population will be so mentally and physically degenerate as to be practically ruined as a nation, and that would be a crime against a people that has contributed so much to the world in art and literature.

Increasing bitterness and despair can only lead to strife. As the 228 different communities in their petition to the Peace Conference said in 1919, "for Italy we might be safe and quiet neighbors; as subjects we should be deeply embittered and unfortunate."

A league called the Andreas Hofer-Bund für Tirol (Andreas Hofer League for Tyrol) has been formed at Innsbrück for the protection and support of the Ladinian and German populations of South Tyrol, and to make known their plight to the rest of the world. By means of subventions and other material help, this league endeavors to aid their compatriots in distress and to prevent their enforced expropriation, and above all by the knowledge of their unceasing efforts to interest the world in their welfare, to keep up their courage until a sounder political and economic state of things becomes possible.



# Persia the Victim of Russo-British Rivalry

By LOUIS FISCHER

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RUSSIAN diplomacy in Asia is as potent a factor under the Soviet régime as ever it was in the time of the Czars. Especially in Persia is it a force to be reckoned with. Here, indeed, we behold a dramatic renewal of the former rivalry between Russia and Great Britain, with Russia, at least for the moment, in the more advantageous position.

When the Bolshevik revolution took place in Petrograd the Persians were delivered from the oppressive yoke of Czardom which they, though not Russian subjects, had endured for decades. Russia had ridden rough shod over Persian sovereignty. It kept its Cossacks in the northern part of the country, while its diplomatic agents in Teheran created and overthrew Cabinets as the spirit moved them. One instance of Russian influence in Persia was the dismissal of W. Morgan Shuster, the American financial adviser of the Persian Government, who had brought order into the chaos of Persian fiscal affairs. The Persian Government was forced to take this step only because the Czar's Government willed it so.

The Bolshevik revolution gave Great Britain a much more advantageous position in Persia, one that she had certainly never enjoyed since the treaty of Aug. 31, 1907, which called a halt in the struggle between the two powers and thus paved the way for the Triple Entente between Russia, France and Great Britain and Russia's participation in the World War on the side of the Allies. This convention, signed in St. Petersburg by Sir Arthur Nicolson, the British Ambassador, and Alexander Izvolsky, the Czar's Foreign Minister, divided Persia into "spheres of influ-

ence." Russia took the northern part, which was bounded on the one side by her own frontier and on the other by an arbitrary line "starting from Kasr-i-Shirin, passing Ispahan, Yezd, Kakhk, and ending at the point on the Persian frontier at the intersection of the Russian and Afghan frontiers." The British sphere extended from the Persian Gulf north, but not "beyond a line going from the Afghan frontier by way of Gazik, Birjand, Kerman and ending at Bandar Abbass." Between these two sectors was a neutral zone.

From 1907 to 1917 every detail of Persia's political fate was determined by the articles of this agreement. Officially the treaty was annulled by the recent Anglo-Soviet treaty, which, however, has not yet been ratified. For all practical purposes the treaty of 1907 lapsed in 1917 when the Bolsheviks took office. This great change in the balance of political power in the Near East was followed by Great Britain pouring troops into Persia and her officials becoming virtually the financial controllers of the country. With Mesopotamia, newly conquered during the war, as a base, British military strength in Persia was greatly increased, and it was intended, by fair means or foul, to enjoy the spoil. On the methods of the British during the period immediately after the Bolshevik revolution, the Hon. James M. Balfour, a Scottish lawyer, who was chief assistant to Mr. Armitage-Smith, the British financial adviser of the Persian Government, in 1920 and 1921, states that, "in addition to armed intervention, the British Government had recourse to an extensive system of subsidies and bribes which were, under one name or another, dis-



Map of Persia, showing the neighboring States and the Russian and British spheres of influence as they existed until 1917. The territory between these two spheres, marked by the heavy black lines, constituted a neutral zone

tributed broadcast." Balfour's book, "Recent Happenings in Persia" (published in 1922), was incidentally a severe indictment of his own country's follies during this critical period. He was particularly incensed with the manner in which Great Britain frittered away the privileged position which she then enjoyed in Persia.

In the years 1918, 1919 and 1920 the British permitted officers of Denikin and other Russian counter-revolutionary Generals who were waging war against the Bolsheviks to use Persia as

a base from which to launch attacks against the Soviet forces. In 1918, moreover, British troops moved north through Persia and, with the aid of Russian White Guards, occupied the valuable oil provinces of the Caucasus. It is here that we touch the fundamental cause of Anglo-Russian rivalry in Persia.

#### WORLD'S RICHEST OIL FIELD

The mountainous region between the Black Sea and the Caspian, between Russia proper and Persia, the region generally known as the Caucasus, is per-



haps the world's richest oil field. From the confessions of Boris Savinkov, the Russian revolutionist, and from statements by Winston Churchill, formerly a British Cabinet Minister, and by Sir Charles Greenway, Chairman of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, it is patent that Great Britain had designs on this region and during the Russian civil war planned to incorporate it into her empire. From Southern Persia, where the Anglo-Persian Company holds the valuable D'Arcy concession granted by the Persian Government in 1901, to the Caucasus the way leads through the five northern provinces of Persia, which are reputed to possess inexhaustible petroleum resources. Great Britain may have cast longing glances at the Caucasus, but before the war the more immediate objective was Northern Persia. Russia, however, barred the way.

Before oil had become the world's greatest lubricant and irritant, Great Britain was more or less on the defensive in Persia. Russia's presence in the Near and Middle East, so the British Government maintained, was a threat to British dominion in India, and therefore the problem was to bar Russia's advance into Southern and Central Asia. Much has been made of the danger to India which Russia represents. Mr. Balfour, British imperialist though he be, dismisses it in a sentence. "A very little experience of the difficulties of travel in Persia," he says, "is sufficient to demonstrate the almost insuperable difficulties which any attempt to move a large scale force across Persia would entail."

Certainly Soviet Russia is at present too weak to undertake such a venture. The Communists, however, believe that they can wield intellectual weapons with the aid of which they could, given the proper conditions, undermine and perhaps overthrow British hegemony in India. The continued suppression of India's national aspirations and further exploitation of its enormous population, they explain, would constitute the favorable circumstances under which the Bol-

shevist ideals of sovereignty, national liberty and autonomy would take sufficient hold on the Indian people to rouse them to destroy British rule.

While Great Britain was alone in Persia—and it seemed that many years would elapse before Russia could retrieve her position there—it was British policy to further the centralization of power in the hands of a strong Government in Teheran. But no sooner did the Bolsheviki reappear on the scene in 1921 than Great Britain chose an opposite course. Written proof of this is found in a letter dated Teheran, July 6, 1921, from Captain E. Noel, who "was sent to Persia by the F. O. (Foreign Office)" to Sir Percy Cox, then High Commissioner in coterminous Iraq (Mesopotamia), but formerly British Minister in Persia. The policy of the Bolsheviki, according to Captain Noel, "is to hold Persia together and to prevent at all costs our starting a Southern federation, which, for purely physical reasons, must remain for some time to come beyond the effective reach of their armed forces and their propaganda."

\* \* \* The reference to a Southern confederation contemplates comprehensive action, including the establishment of a Southern Persian Government and the diversion of the oil royalty [paid by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company to the Teheran Government]. Although the Southern confederation was never formed, Great Britain has continued to pursue similar though less aggressive tactics. Such a separatist policy is indeed part of a very astute and, from the British point of view, very necessary effort to counteract Soviet influence in Teheran, for Russian prestige in Persia is growing by leaps and bounds.

#### SOVIET ENVOY'S TACTICS

Soviet Russia first made its appearance in Teheran in the person of Ambassador Theodore A. Rothstein, who was educated in England, was formerly a member of The Manchester Guardian editorial staff, and who after being in Teheran became one of the experts who constitute the collegium of the Foreign

Office in Moscow. No sooner had Rothstein presented his credentials to the Shah in April, 1921, than he made a characteristically Bolshevik move to win popular good-will by opening to all who wished to visit it the park of the embassy, the Atabak Park, where Mr. Shuster and his American assistants had been housed. It was no small honor to the Persians to be permitted to enter it every Friday, the Moslem Sabbath, sit at its tables and enjoy themselves. Every week thousands streamed to the garden. Rothstein often strolled democratically among his guests and now and then drew them into conversation. This was all so different from the conduct of the Czar's Government that Russia became immensely popular.

The Soviet envoy did not restrict his activities to wholesale hospitality. He commenced twisting the tail of the British lion. Shortly after his arrival in Teheran, Riza Khan, then Minister of War and now Premier, dismissed the British instructors in the Persian Army. Not many months later the British were forced to evacuate their troops from Southern Persia. Nevertheless, British soldiers dressed in Persian uniforms and receiving pay from the Persian Government remained in the country organized as the so-called South Persian Rifles. Soon this force was disbanded. These measures were not undertaken without the advance knowledge and approval of the Soviet Embassy. The Persian Government is too feeble and dependent to act without foreign support. Accordingly, Riza Khan's policy has been to play the Russians against the British and the British against the Russians. Riza Khan, who is of lowly origin, but an able organizer, is ambitious. He would like to unite the Persian people and establish a powerful Central Government, with himself as its head. But British military influence has interfered with his plans. Therefore he sought aid from the Russians, who would also like to see a strong Federal Government.

British opposition to a centralized Government explains in large part Riza Khan's anti-British attitude, for the Brit-

ish are using their influence to further the independence of feudal khans and sheiks in various parts of Persia. These medieval potentates have made frequent attempts to establish independent khanates. In 1921 Smitko, Chief of the Kurds, raised the flag of insurrection against Teheran. One of his advisers and assistants was Captain Noel. In 1922 the Lurs, a tribe near the Mesopotamian frontier, revolted. By August, 1922, Riza Khan had subdued both uprisings. Thus ended the attempt at a southern confederation, but there have been subsequent troubles. Recently, for example, Riza Khan had to conduct an expedition against the Lurs, which terminated successfully. He has rapidly extended the sphere of influence of the Teheran Government. Tribes in the south and southwest which had not paid taxes to the central exchequer for two centuries found it advisable to refrain from their usual practice of slitting the throat of the tax collector sent from the metropolis. Now they pay him their gold. The Chief of Arabistan, one of the most important provinces of Persia, recently signed a tax convention with Teheran after twenty years of non-compliance with the will of the Shah's Ministers. Moreover, Riza Khan now has five territorial armies in various sections of the country owing allegiance to him as Premier. In these efforts Riza Khan has the good-will of the Russians, who have become popular with the intelligentsia, the Nationalists and all groups whose aim is a united Persia.

#### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

More substantial factors help to establish Russian influence in Persia. Persia is a country with an area equal to that of Germany, France, Belgium and Spain combined. It is, however, generally undeveloped, sparsely settled, subject to frequent famines and devoid of any great network of roads or railways. Only the northern provinces can be described as prosperous. This northern half is economically dependent on Russia, which provides its most important



market and its most important source for manufactured goods and raw materials. Furthermore, the commerce which Northern Persia conducts with Europe must pass through Russian territory. In view of the absence and difficulties of transport, the Persian Gulf, for all practical purposes, is inaccessible to the inhabitants of the north, while the route through the Caucasus to the Black Sea is shorter, safer and more directly in contact with Turkey and other countries.

Northern Persia, impoverished during those years from 1917 to 1920 when Russia's economic system was in ruins, is now increasing its business with Russia. Persia is the best foreign customer at the great annual Nizhni Novgorod Fair, as well as at the less important but prominent Baku Fair. There is a Russian bank in Teheran (recently formed) with branch offices in several centres in the north, and during the past year almost a score of mixed Russian-Persian corporations have been organized. Before the war, Russia occupied first place in the world's trade with Persia. The British Empire was second, Germany fourth and the United States twelfth. In 1913-14 the value of Russian trade with Persia amounted to more than 658,000,000 francs, as compared with Great Britain's 235,000,000 francs. In 1920-21, however, the value of Russia's business with Persia had fallen to 29,000,000 francs, whereas that of the British Empire had climbed to 708,000,000 francs. But in 1922-23 Russia's total had risen to 136,000,000 pre-war francs, and since then the ascent has been rapid and steady. Russia cannot at present regain her position as Persia's chief customer and seller, because the British turnover in Persia has grown considerably, this being due to the increase in the amount of oil which the Anglo-Persian Oil Company operating in Southern Persia exports to various parts of the British Empire.

The Anglo-Persian Company's concession confers upon the concessionaire the right to exploit the oil resources of all Persia exclusive of the five north-

ern provinces, but the company has confined most of its activities to the mountainous regions of Arabistan and Bakhtiari, near the Persian Gulf. Large-scale production commenced in 1907, and in 1914 the Persian oil output really reached gigantic proportions. In 1918 the Anglo-Persian's production totaled 1,106,415 tons, and in 1922-23 2,900,000 tons. The concession contract stipulates that the Central Persian Government is to receive 16 per cent. of the net profit from the Anglo-Persian's operations in Persia. This, patently, is no insignificant sum. In 1921-22, according to figures taken from the company's ledgers, £422,351 (approximately \$2,000,000) was paid to the Persian National Treasury. These revenues from the Anglo-Persian Company, together with the loans which the Persian Government has received from British banks, are the economic and the most important basis of British influence in Persia. The oil royalty of \$2,000,000 constitutes almost one-fourth of the country's custom duties, a considerable part of which, it should be noted, accrued from the exportation of petroleum.



Theodore A. Rothstein (in the centre of photograph), the first Ambassador sent by the Russian Soviet Government to Persia, with two members of his staff in Teheran

## OIL CONCESSIONS

The Czar's Government understood that while its Cossacks in the north and its Ambassadors in Teheran could now and then browbeat the Shah's Ministers, something more would have to be done to decrease Persia's vassalage to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. Accordingly Akaky Mefodievitch Khostaria, a Russian citizen, applied for and obtained, on March 12, 1916, a concession from the Persian Government to exploit "rock oil and natural gas" in the five northern provinces of Persia. Regarding this concession, Wossoughod Dowleh, the Persian Prime Minister, who confirmed it with his own signature, stated that it "had been obtained under coercion by the late Czarist Government and without the consent of the National Assembly, which at that time was not sitting." When the Czar's Government fell in 1917, the Persians declared the Khostaria concession invalid. But what was the mere word of a Government to an oil concessionaire? On May 8, 1920, Khostaria sold his claims on the concession, then really defunct, to the Anglo-Persian Company in consideration of the sum of £100,000 (\$486,650 at par). In 1921 Soviet Russia reappeared on the Persian scene, and on Feb. 26 of that year Persia and Russia signed a general treaty by the terms of which all concessions ever granted by the Persian Government to Russian citizens were returned to Persia. Thus the Khostaria concession again became null and void.

The Standard Oil Company now enters as a factor in the situation. It began bidding for the North Persian concession, and on Nov. 22, 1921, its representative actually signed a contract with the Persian Government for the exploitation of the oil field over a period of fifty years. This concession, however, was subject to the approval of the Mejliss (National Assembly). The Anglo-Persian Company, which had purchased the Khostaria claim, naturally protested. The Standard and the Anglo-Persian were fierce competitors in various parts

of the world and their rivalry was now coming to a head. At the same time the Sinclair Oil Company, the Standard's first opponent, entered an application for exactly the same concession in the northern provinces, and for a while there was a triangular fight. Various Persian parties and groups supported the interests of the various bidders.

The Standard Oil had a concession to exploit oil near the Dead Sea in Palestine. It had been granted by the Turkish Government in 1916. When in 1919 Standard Oil engineers attempted to commence operations in Palestine, they were arrested by the British who, in the meantime, had occupied the Holy Land. The Standard Oil Company had also been granted a concession for the oil of Mosul in Iraq, and there, too, the British were in occupation. Accordingly Secretary of State Colby and subsequently Secretary of State Hughes demanded the "open door" for Americans in Palestine and Mesopotamia, and the United States Government refused to give its consent to the British mandates for these territories until the "open door" policy was approved. This, it will be recalled, was a period of strained relations between the United States and Great Britain. But toward the end of 1921 the situation became easier. Sir John Cadman, the former Chairman of the Interallied Petroleum Council, arrived in New York with power to negotiate for the Anglo-Persian Company and unofficially for the British Government. Before long an agreement was concluded which provided that the Standard Oil was to obtain a share of the oil produced in Palestine and Iraq, while the Anglo-Persian was to receive a share of the Standard's concession in North Persia. The "open door" in British mandated countries was recognized and the United States Government satisfied.

## AMERICAN INTERESTS

No sooner had this alliance between American and British capital with respect to Northern Persia been concluded than Russia entered sharp protest. It



was made clear to Premier Qavam-es-Sultana that Russia had no objection to the Standard Oil in Northern Persia, but would not tolerate the extension of British influence to that region. Consequently, when the Standard Oil made common cause with the British company, Russia demanded the annulment of the Standard Oil's concession on the ground that the treaty of Feb. 26, 1921, stipulated that none of the pre-revolutionary concessions which Russia then returned to Persia were to be re-granted without Russia's consent. For this reason the Persian Government informed the Standard Oil Company that its concession had been voided. A clear field now apparently remained for Harry F. Sinclair. The Persian National Assembly on June 10, 1923, passed a law which practically made it certain that Sinclair would obtain the concession. Nevertheless, in June, 1924, a financial agent of Sinclair was in Teheran negotiating for the floating of the \$10,000,000 loan on which the concession was conditioned without finality being reached. The British have been conducting an active press campaign in Persia with a view to undermining any confidence which the Persians might have had in Sinclair by making use of the disclosures made during the oil inquiry in America. In this connection it is charged that the British have the assistance of the American financial mission which is in the employ of the Persian Government, and that the retirement of Rabbi Kornfeld, United States Minister in Teheran, was largely due to his not being able to agree with the mission on American policy toward the concession. As long as the Russian Government has a shred of influence in Persia, neither the Anglo-Persian Company nor the Standard Oil Company will obtain it. On the other hand, it seems to be within the power of the British Government to keep Sinclair from the concession indefinitely.

Isvestiya, the official organ of the Russian Government, printed and prominently displayed on Aug. 31, 1924, an



RIZA KHAN  
The Persian Prime Minister

article charging that the American financial advisers in Persia were engaging in "aggressive activities" which were "aimed against Soviet Russia," and that "the Anglo-American bloc, which lately has enjoyed the cooperation of German diplomacy, has thus been evidencing particularly intensive activity in the Near and Middle East." The article was signed "Peritus," the pseudonym of one of the most prominent of Communist Commissars. Peritus leveled definite accusations against Dr. Mills-paugh's mission:

The hostile acts of the Americans against us in Persia have assumed a systematic and positive character. Especially in those questions where there exist differences of opinion between us and Persia, on the question of the use of frontier water supplies, on the question of the letting of the South-Caspian fishing areas, on the question of settling accounts between Persia and those Russian citizens,



Scene in Teheran, capital of Persia, during Moharram, the ten-day national mourning period. The procession is passing with the catafalque of the dead prophets

who were interested in Russian enterprises transferred to Persia, on the question of the dismissal of Soviet subjects from the Persian civil service—the Americans take the initiative against us. They strive to prevent an agreement between Russia and Persia. They do not allow transactions in chervontzi [the Russian currency unit worth \$4.86] in Persia; in many instances, they have attempted to interrupt the work of our economic institutions in Persia and to interfere with the dealings of the branches of the Russo-Persian Bank in provincial cities.

These are the characters and stage setting in the Persian drama: Persia, the prize, represented by its most promising leader, Riza Khan; Soviet Russia

by her new Ambassador, Boris Zacharovitch Shumiatsky; Great Britain by her Minister, Sir Percy Lorrain; the United States by Dr. A. C. Millsaugh, and, finally, Germany, approaching from the background carrying her Berlin-to-Bagdad experience with her as a Baedeker and Machiavelli in one. Only the blind Utopian can imagine, or even hope, that in his generation the struggle between Russia and Great Britain in Persia will be composed. It seems to be Persia's fate, both on account of her geographical location and her natural wealth, to be the bone of contention of these two powers.





# Armenian Reds Curbed by American Philanthropy

By H. C. JAQUITH

Director of the Near East Relief in Greece and Turkey

FIVE years have passed since the Conference of Baku, in February, 1919, when a group of Russian revolutionary leaders adopted the policy to which Communists refer as "going East." Since then the diminished frontiers of Soviet Russia have been slowly expanding eastward and southward until today the Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics embraces the territory of the old empire of the Czars, Russian diplomacy is powerful in Japan and China, Russian influence predominates over British in Persia and Afghanistan, and Russia and Turkey confront each other once more in the Caucasus. The point of this Caucasian wedge, driven down toward the Czar's objective, Constantinople, by Marshal Paskevich in 1828, is the little State of Armenia.

Armenia is a small State, imbedded in the Caucasian Mountains, with no outlet either to the Caspian or the Black Sea. It is cut off from the Caspian by the new Tartar Soviet State of Azerbaijan—which includes the Baku oil fields—and by a corner of Persia; from the Black Sea by Turkey and the Soviet State of Georgia. The Russian-Turkish frontier, which runs along the right bank of the Araxes River at the foot of Mount Ararat, is today only a potentiality. One can say of it with certainty only that it will one day leap to the attention of the world as a vital point in the relations of the two rising Western Asiatic powers, Russia and Turkey.

This little republic has a population of about 1,300,000. Its capital is Eriwan, which was the capital of the Armenian Empire in the first century, and its largest city is Alexandropol, which was built as a military outpost for the Russian army in the Russo-Turkish War of

1828 and rebuilt by Americans in 1920-21 to house a population of 26,000 orphans. There are no other cities; the Armenians are peasants, living in scattered villages of stone huts, which are built half underground and at a little distance disappear in the undulating high plateaus.

Most of these Armenians are descendants of the Aryan tribes that moved down to the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates in prehistoric times and retreated into the Caucasian ranges before the rising military power of Assyria. They were included in the annexation of the Kingdom of Georgia by Czar Paul of Russia, an annexation that occurred in St. Petersburg without the knowledge of the peoples involved. During the war of 1828, when the Russian armies advanced into Turkey, the Armenians of Kars and Erzerum welcomed the Russians as fellow-Christians and deliverers. By the Treaty of Adrianople, which ended that war, Russia retreated from Kars and Erzerum, abandoning the Armenians to Turkish massacre. Several thousands escaped into Russian territory and a number of villages around Alexandropol were built by these refugees. There is also a small population of the Russian branch of the Society of Friends—the Molokans—who were exiled here about a century ago, and a few thousand Tartar herdsmen, who are settled in villages, but retain a semi-nomadic life with their herds.

There was no fighting in this territory during the World War. The history of 1828 repeated itself. Russian armies advanced into Turkey and were aided by the Armenians of Van, Kars and Erzerum, who threw in their fortunes with those of the Allies. All fight

ing was on Turkish soil until the collapse of the Russian army in 1918. Turkish Armenians followed it northward, fleeing from the Turkish pursuit. The Turks advanced the length of Russian Armenia, and the entire population joined the Turkish Armenian refugees in their flight into the mountains of Georgia. After the armistice the Turks retreated, the Armenian Nationalist Government was formed, and Colonel William N. Haskell of the United States Army was sent into the Caucasus as Allied High Commissioner.

The refugees were struggling southward. Their villages had been destroyed, houses razed to yield their roof-beams for fuel. There was no harvest, and no cattle or sheep left for food. A population of approximately 1,750,000 was starving. Immediate relief measures were necessary on a large scale, and these were carried out by Colonel Haskell, acting in conjunction with the Near East Relief, which was originally an emergency organization, created by the sympathy of the American people for the victims of Turkish

massacre. Its scope, however, grew with the increased need for it during the war. It was able to contribute largely to the funds in the hands of Colonel Haskell, and to aid in their administration for the 40,000 orphaned Armenian children in the Caucasus.

All the racial hatreds which had been stirred by Czarist agents since 1905, with the purpose of preventing a revolt of the Caucasus against Russia, had been again inflamed by the war. Tartars, Armenians and Georgians were waging intervillage wars; bandit chiefs raided from the mountains. In 1920 the Turks attacked; Kars fell; the population again stampeded northward. The Turks advanced and occupied Alexandropol, driving out the Armenian Nationalist forces, which retreated to Erivan. Under the Turkish occupation the Armenian Communist Government was proclaimed by a handful of revolutionists in Alexandropol. Khatissian, President of the Nationalist Government, had relied on support from the Allies, which he did not receive. The Armenian people had joined the Allies



Map showing the position of the new Soviet Republic of Armenia.





Armenians cleaning up Alexandropol under the direction of Clifford Downer, a Near East Relief official, who was placed at the head of the highway department of that city

in 1914, had fought with them to the limit of their fighting strength throughout the war, and had lost approximately 2,000,000 lives. They were now abandoned between the Turks, who regarded them as traitors and killed them without mercy, and the Russians, whose remnant of Government was Bolshevik. The Nationalist Government in Erivan desperately made peace with the victorious Turks, ceding them territory to the right bank of the Araxes River. The Turks retreated to this line, but their retreat was followed by the advance of the Russian Red Army, which joined the Armenian Communists at Alexandropol and advanced on Erivan. Erivan fell, after a gallant fight. The Russian Red Army occupied Armenia, the Nationalists fled, and the official representatives of the Allies were withdrawn from the Caucasus, which had become Bolshevik territory.

The American Near East Relief, which was left unofficially in Armenia with responsibility for the lives of 40,000 orphans, was forced by circumstances into a unique position, producing in the four years that have elapsed both economic and political results

within Armenia itself, and because of Armenia's strategic importance probably affecting relations between Soviet Russia and the new Turkey.

In 1920 Armenia was a dying State. Its population was homeless, the few standing shelters being rare exceptions, and for three successive seasons the peasants had been refugees, so that there were no crops. Armenia, that is, the present reduced territory of former Russian Armenia, is entirely agricultural, its only manufactures being wine and cognac. In 1913 it exported 12,000,000 poods of wheat, 56,000 poods of cotton and 5,000,000 rubles' worth of wine. In 1920 there was insufficient wheat and cotton in the country for seed, and the vineyards in general had been Winter-killed. The group of revolutionary leaders who dominated the Government were unable to import foodstuffs, both because of the disturbed condition of Russia and because the destruction of Russian currency had left them bankrupt. They were kept in power by the presence of the Russian Army, and they obtained from Russia some supplies of seed grain, which, however, it was impossible to distribute

to the starving peasants, who would have swallowed them at a mouthful without bettering conditions.

The difficulties of the Near East Relief were hardly less acute. The severe Winter of the Caucasian mountains was approaching, and the 40,000 children were not yet adequately clothed or sheltered. Before erecting a building it was necessary to build kilns in which to burn lime to make mortar; such necessities as nails, hammers, spades and stoves had to be handmade, and this required forges. There was abundance of labor, but nothing else; for example, it was difficult to find sufficient ox-carts to carry away the dead.

#### INEXPERIENCED RULERS

The Government and the Near East Relief were, however, the only forces operating in Armenia. The Government was largely composed of sincere and devoted men, but they were revolutionists, without experience in the direction of practical affairs, and they were attempting to put into effect untried economic theories. The Near East Relief was directed by men accustomed to American methods and endeavoring to use them in the gigantic task of housing, feeding and giving medical care to the orphans, and at the same time feeding the adult population as far as its means would allow. The relation between the Near East Relief and the Government was one of forced cooperation and armed neutrality—the Government possessing military power, and the Near East Relief, by its control of foodstuffs and old clothes, practically holding the power of life and death over the people. The population, reduced to the lowest terms of existence, had no political or economic opinions; its only desire was food.

At many points the economic power of the American organization inevitably broke down the new economic machinery which the Communist Government was attempting to set up. Communist organization for control and distribution of supplies, for example, was inadequate to meet the imperative needs

of the orphanages. The organization broke through it, dealing directly with the peasants by exchanging old clothes for wood and later for vegetables. This naturally led to conflict with the Government, which regarded the action as a capitalistic attack upon communism. The organization was the only large employer of labor in Armenia, and there was constant friction because of labor laws. These laws, framed to apply to a primitive society in which labor was attempting the leap from medieval serfdom to complete control of industry, naturally conflicted with a gigantic philanthropic work under emergency conditions. The Near East Relief paid the Armenian workers in clothes and foodstuffs certainly less than a normal fair wage, and allowed them no voice whatever in management. But where thousands were starving the organization held that employment was the proper method of relief work, that food should be distributed sparsely in order to keep as many as possible at least barely alive, and that the emergency demanded autocratic methods of control. The Government of course endeavored to enforce its laws, but they could be enforced nowhere in the country as long as the only large employer of labor did not obey them. There were constant jars and compromises on this line.

In other directions, however, the two controlling forces in Armenia cooperated very satisfactorily, notably in the handling of the seed grain. The Near East Relief undertook in 1920 and again in 1921 to distribute to the peasants sufficient corn-grits to feed them until harvest on condition that they planted the seed grain distributed by the Government. This enabled the Government in 1921 to collect approximately 50 per cent. of the grain grown and to redistribute it the following season as seed. As a result the harvest of barley, wheat and beans in 1922 was 6,000,000 poods, or slightly more than 60 per cent. of the foodstuffs necessary to feed the people. The remainder was made up by a gift from neighboring Russian prov-





Armenian buffalo carts

inces, and the Near East Relief was able to terminate its employment-relief work. In the same year the Government began to collect from the peasants, pood for pood in grain, the corn-grits which had been distributed by the Near East Relief. This supply of grain is now being paid out, by a joint committee of the Government and the Near East Relief, as wages on the construction of three irrigation systems which are reclaiming 75,000 acres of barren land. It is possible that, as conditions slowly approach normal, the Armenian refugees now in the Mediterranean countries can be moved to these reclaimed lands, according to the plan of Archbishop Khoran of the Armenian Church.

On Jan. 1, 1923, the three Caucasian republics, Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, officially became part of the Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics, and the frontier of Russia moved down again to the Turkish border.

#### CONDITIONS TODAY NEARLY NORMAL

At present living conditions for the population of Armenia are approaching normal. The new currency is above par. Public utilities, such as railroads and telegraph, are in fairly good condition. Outworn equipment is being replaced,

the service is being improved, and organization and management are competent. There has as yet been no new construction of railroads, which remain the lines built by the military officers of the Czars, for military and not for economic purposes. Nor has there been much progress in establishing new industries, in spite of a complete embargo on woven fabrics and many other manufactured articles. Government efforts to create government-owned factories have had little success thus far. In Armenia, however, as throughout Russia, the Government is stronger today than ever before. This is probably due to the fact that present Government officials are practical politicians rather than inexperienced theorists. Lukashine, President of the Armenian Republic, and Orakhelishvili, President of the three Transcaucasian republics, are born leaders of the practical man-of-affairs type.

For Armenia, as for the rest of old Russia, this change was inevitable. It has occurred in Armenia without the upheavals, abortive counter-revolutions, famines and consequent agonies of the helpless population which have been endured elsewhere in Russia, probably because of the stabilizing influence of



Children at the Near East Relief orphanage at Alexandropol, Armenia, having a meal in the open air

the Near East Relief. Its mere existence and functioning as a purely humanitarian effort acted as a counterbalance to the fanatical enterprises of some of the early Government leaders. The Government is as yet by no means able to take over the care of the remaining thousands of orphans in the American orphanages. The recovery of the Armenian people, however, is enabling the organization slowly to withdraw. As rapidly as possible the orphans are being discharged to the care of relatives now able to feed them, or, on graduating from the orphanage trade schools, are finding self-supporting work. Probably within two or three years the Government ought to be able to undertake the maintenance of those then remaining, including the blind and hopelessly crippled, and the liquidation of the organization's responsibilities will then be complete.

#### ARMENIANS HOPEFULLY FACE FUTURE

There has long been a peculiar bond of sympathy between the American people and these Armenian victims of Turkish cruelty and ruthless European imperialism. This remnant of approxi-

mately a million and a half Armenians in the Caucasus are sturdy, industrious and prolific people. Across the Araxes they look at the depopulated lands of Turkey, formerly inhabited by the Armenians who were driven into exile and massacre in 1915, as punishment for their championing the cause of the Allies. Behind them to the north is the pressure of Russia, with its tremendous natural resources and steadily increasing manpower. This pressure of Russia may mean

the annexation of Kars within the next few years, and may eventually mean the complete military, political and economic domination of the entire underpopulated regions of Asia Minor. The low birth rate and high infant mortality (over a period of 500 years) in Turkey as compared with the birth rate in Russia, is in itself highly significant. If this southward movement of Russia does occur, the Armenians will probably spread again over the large extent of country that was Armenian from prehistoric times until the World War, a region now lapsing into desert because the Armenians were driven from it.

There is abundant evidence that the great mass of peoples in former Russia, including the Armenians, is feeling new hope, new aspiration and a general stimulation to self-expression. This is a more nearly true picture of what is occurring than the conception that they have accepted the religious and economic principles of communism. It is true that Government schools teach a materialistic scientific point of view rather than the religious, but the people themselves are essentially and fundamentally religious in character.



# Egypt's Claim to the Sudan

By AN EGYPTIAN PUBLICIST

SIR LEE STACK PASHA, Sirdar of the Egyptian Army and Governor General of the Sudan, was attacked in Kasr-El-Nil Street, Cairo, on Dec. 15, 1924, by a group of men who, failing to achieve their purpose with a bomb, opened fire on him with their revolvers. The Sirdar died from his wounds on the following day.

The whole Egyptian Nation was profoundly shocked at the outrage. Manifestations of sympathy were seen everywhere both in Cairo and in the provinces. Flags were half masted throughout the country and tokens of mourning were seen on all buildings, from the humblest shops to the great residential houses and Government buildings. The Egyptian papers published many messages from the various parts of the country indicating universal condemnation of the crime. All the newspapers, irrespective of their political views, denounced the outrage in the strongest terms. They unanimously declared that Egypt's honor demanded the discovery of the criminals and their exemplary punishment. Nothing, they asserted, would be neglected "to wash away the bloody stain on the country's honor."

In a communiqué published in all papers the then Premier, Zaghlul Pasha, repudiated the attack and appealed to the nation to aid in running down the criminals. He denounced all who resorted to criminal violence. The Government promised £50,000 (\$250,000) to any person aiding it to arrest the culprits.

King Fuad was the first to express his sorrow and horror at the cowardly crime. Before the death of the Sirdar, he issued a proclamation to the officers and men of the Egyptian Army deploring the "odious attack upon the devoted Sirdar of our army, which has deeply afflicted us and all members of our Government."

In spite of the attitude taken by the King, the Government and the whole nation, an attitude of mingled sorrow and horror for a crime in which the nation had no part, the tragic event was exploited by the British Government to wage war on Egypt's independence and to deprive her of her Sudanese provinces, thus threatening her existence by withholding the water supply for the irrigation of her land, a vital necessity to her national life.

An ultimatum was sent to Egypt by the British Government embodying a series of stern demands. Premier Zaghlul's Government complied with four of these demands and refused the other three. It made it clear, first of all, that it could not be either directly or indirectly responsible for a crime of which it knew nothing and which was as great a shock to the Egyptians as it was to the English themselves. To show, however, its good intention and its keen desire to avoid a deadlock between the two nations the Egyptian Government agreed: (1) to tender an apology; (2) to punish the criminals; (3) to pay the indemnity of £500,000 demanded by England; (4) to stop anti-British propaganda.

But besides these demands the ultimatum embodied two drastic measures: That the Egyptian Government should within twenty-four hours order the withdrawal from the Sudan of all Egyptian officers and purely Egyptian units of the Egyptian Army; and that the Egyptian Government should notify the competent department that the Sudan Government would increase the area to be irrigated at Gezira (Sudan) from 300,000 acres to an unlimited figure, as the need might arise.

Great Britain was fully justified in demanding the swift punishment of the Sirdar's assassins. She might also be justified in asking for an indemnity if

the Government should be held responsible for the crime or if it neglected to prosecute a swift inquiry. But no conceivable connection can be seen between the crime and the two demands concerning the Sudan.

In reply to the first demand, the Zaghlul Government replied that it ran counter to the Egyptian Constitution, under which the King is Commander-in-Chief of the Army. With regard to the second demand concerning the irrigation of Gezira, the Government answered that this demand was, to say the least, premature, and remarked that Great Britain always had promised that an increased cotton area would be arranged under an accord taking cognizance of Egypt's agricultural inter-

ests, which could not be done unilaterally.

The British Government, however, put these demands into effect and the Zaghlul Government resigned. The action of the British Government would indicate its view that the Egyptian forces had no legal status in the Sudan and were, therefore, ordered out.

It may be pointed out that in England itself disapproval of the course taken by the British Government was not lacking. The Independent Labor Party issued a statement on Nov. 25 "deploring the British Government policy of renewed suppression in Egypt," and declaring that "the crime committed in Cairo had been made the occasion for asserting new imperialistic claims."

Foreign Affairs, an English monthly review, in its issue of December, 1924, said:

Once again the Government of a great nation has set itself up as prosecutor, judge and jury over a weaker nation. \* \* \*

Worse still, by dragging in matters quite outside the question at issue, it has given every excuse for the accusations of economic imperialism which other nations will not be slow to make. The demands for the evacuation of the Sudan, the practical revocation of the qualified independence which was so recently accorded to Egypt, ought not to have been coupled with a demand for reparation. Above all, the demand for Egyptian consent to complete freedom of action with regard to the irrigation question is one which vitally affects the interests of the whole Egyptian people. \* \* \*

We repeat that the British Government has failed disastrously to uphold the principles of justice between peoples.

In this crisis between the Egyptian and the British Governments, all depends on the interpretation of the juridical status of the Sudan. It is the purpose of this article to study this question from an objective and im-



Map of Egypt and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan



partial point of view. For the present purpose the history of the Sudan may be divided into three periods: First, from Mohammed Ali to the Mahdi's revolution (1812-81); second, from the Mahdi's revolution to the year 1884 (withdrawal of the Egyptian troops); third, the reconquest of the Sudan (1896-99).

#### FROM 1812 TO 1881

Mohammed Ali, founder of the royal dynasty on the throne of Egypt up to the present and liberator of Egypt from all but nominal dependence on Turkey, undertook to conquer the region of the upper Nile about a century ago. He succeeded in conquering Syria, Arabia and the Sudan, and formed a vast empire comprising Egypt, the Sudan, Syria and Arabia. He began his work in the Sudan in 1812, when he sent a mission to study the situation and to gain the sympathy of the Sudanese. In 1816 he sent a scientific mission, headed by Caillou, to try to study the question of mines and metals in the Sudan. An army under the command of his son, Prince Ismail Ali, was sent and Ismail entered Khartum on May 28, 1821. He subdued many chiefs of the different provinces. In 1825 Osman Bey was appointed the first Governor of the Sudan. In 1839 Mohammed Ali himself visited the Sudan. He left Cairo on Oct. 15 and arrived at Khartum on Nov. 23. In 1849 Mohammed Ali died and his death was mourned by all the Sudanese.

The Khedive Ismail, grandson of Mohammed Ali, who ascended the throne in 1863, continued the work of his grandfather. By various firmans, or decrees (1865, 1874, 1866, 1875), he increased the territory of the Sudan, and sent an army that occupied the entire coast of the Red Sea from Berber to the Indian Ocean. He also began construction of the railroad from Halfa to Khartum. He built many roads, abolished slavery and established schools.

The area of the Sudan in the year 1883 equaled that of France, Spain and Germany taken together. Now it is

only one-third of that. Everything accomplished during that period from 1812 to 1881 was essentially done by the Egyptians and the Egyptians alone. They were the first to conquer the Sudan. They were the first to begin the construction of railroads, to build schools and to abolish slavery.

#### FROM 1881 TO 1884

In 1881 began the revolution of that picturesque Egyptian leader known as El Mahdi (the Savior). At that time Egypt had in the Sudan an army of 40,490 soldiers, twelve military steamships on the Nile, 20,000 volunteers and 30,000 officials. It is significant that the two revolutions started at the same time—that of Arabi in Cairo and that of the Mahdi in the Sudan. The English are said to have encouraged both revolutions. The British officials who were appointed by the Khedive Ismail in the Sudan as Egyptian officials dealt very harshly with the Sudanese by inflicting death penalties and confiscating land under the pretense of executing the Treaty of 1877 to abolish slavery, whereas in their own territories they were very lenient. This treatment led the Sudanese to revolt. In 1882 the Egyptian Army, under the command of Youssef Pasha El Salami, was defeated by the force of the Mahdi. War continued in the various provinces until 1884, when the British Government asked the Egyptian Government to withdraw. Sherif Pasha, Prime Minister at the time, refused. He was asked either to withdraw or to resign. He preferred the latter. In his letter of resignation he said:

The Government of her Majesty the Queen asks us to withdraw from the Sudan. We have no right to withdraw, because the Sudan belongs to Turkey, who gave it to us to take care of.

The Government of her Majesty the Queen says that we should accept its advice without discussion. But this is against the decree of Aug. 23, 1879, in which it was said that the Khedive governs with and by his Ministers. We therefore resign, on the ground that we

are prevented from governing in compliance with the Constitution."

Nobar Pasha, an Armenian, succeeded Sherif Pasha, and in 1884 and 1885 the Egyptian army withdrew. The Mahdi died on June 14, 1885, and was succeeded by Abdullah El Taaishi, who was defeated in 1895, after sixteen years of continual warfare between Egypt and the revolting Sudanese. It is important to mention here, before going on to the third period, that the withdrawal of the Egyptian Army was not a definite one. Egypt never meant to give up the Sudan. That is clear from the following official documents: (a) The decree of Jan. 15, 1884, which provided that the Egyptian Sudan would be attached to the Egyptian Ministry of War. This decree remained in force and the Egyptian Ministry of War had charge of the affairs of the Sudan until it was reconquered in 1898; (b) the letter written by Boutros Ghali Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Lord Cromer on Oct. 9, 1898, in which he said: "The Government of His Highness the Khedive, as you know, did not at any time relax its efforts to reconquer the Sudan, which is the vital source of Egypt's life. If the Government withdrew its army temporarily, it was due only to circumstances of force majeure."

The revolting Sudanese were never recognized by any country, and therefore the Sudan remained, according to the principles of international law, the property of Egypt. The Sudan was never a "res nullius" at any time between 1884 and 1898, and therefore could not be occupied or reconquered except by Egypt, who remained the owner and who throughout the whole period from 1884 to 1899 never relinquished her rights in this territory.

#### FROM 1896 TO 1899

In 1896 began the reconquest of the Sudan. The Egyptian army, under the command of Lord Kitchener, entered Dongola in 1896, and in 1898 reached Fashoda; by 1899, with the victory of

Omdurman, the whole Sudan was reconquered. It is important to notice that the reconquest of the Sudan that began in 1896 was declared at the time by British politicians and journalists alike, to have as its *raison d'être* the "restoration to the Khedive of his lost provinces." When, after the Omdurman victory, Great Britain risked a war with France by insisting on the withdrawal of Major Marchand from Fashoda, Lord Kitchener insisted throughout the delicate negotiations with the French officer that the territory was Egyptian, and it was the Egyptian flag which was planted on the fort at Fashoda. The same position was taken by the British Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, by Lord Cromer and Lord Kitchener, in official correspondence the text of which is given herewith:

Oct. 12, 1898.

*Lord Salisbury to Sir E. Monson:*

The French Ambassador had a long conversation with me this afternoon on the state of things in the Upper Nile. I generally insisted on the view that the Valley of the Nile *had belonged and still belongs to Egypt*, and that whatever impediment or diminution that title might have suffered through the conquest and occupation of the Mahdi had been removed by the victory of the Anglo-Egyptian army on Sept. 2.

Oct. 10, 1898.

*Lord Cromer to Lord Salisbury:*

The negotiations are now proceeding with the French Government to secure the title of Egypt to the territories abandoned by her during the Mahdist rebellion under the pressure of force majeure, to which [i.e.] His Excellency (Boutros Pasha) explicitly records Egypt has never renounced her rights.

Sept. 21, 1898.

*Lord Kitchener to Lord Cromer:*

I informed M. Marchand that I was authorized to protest in the strongest terms against his occupation of Fashoda and the hoisting of the French flag on the dominions of His Highness the Khedive. \* \* \* I then pointed out that I had the instructions of the Government to re-establish Egyptian authority in the Fashoda Mudirieh. \* \* \* I said to him: "I understand that you are authorized by the French Government to resist Egypt in putting up her flag and reasserting her authority in her former possessions, such as the





JEAN BAPTISTE MARCHAND

The French army officer and explorer who tried to extend French influence in the Sudan and in 1898 hoisted the French flag at Fashoda. When General Kitchener arrived there a critical situation arose, because the presence of the French at Fashoda and in the Nile Valley was regarded as a direct violation of Egyptian and British rights. France eventually yielded. Marchand (born 1863) was killed on the Western front in 1917.

Mudirieh of Fashoda." M. Marchand said that he could not resist the Egyptians' flag being hoisted. \* \* \* The Egyptian flag was hoisted at 1 P. M. with the usual ceremony \* \* \* and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired.

The only conclusion to be drawn from these communications is that the conquest, or rather the restoration, of the Sudan was at the expense and in the name of Egypt. England helped as an ally, just as Egypt helped England in the World War in Palestine.

#### BURDEN BORNE BY EGYPT

A glance at the record of expenses and casualties of the Egyptians during the restoration of the Sudan shows clearly that it was Egypt that contributed almost the whole man-power and the financial and other resources:

(a) The Egyptians provided 25,000 men,

while the British army was, at the beginning, 800, and never exceeded 2,000 men. That is to say, it was never more than one-twelfth of the Egyptian Army. Moreover, the long drawn out campaign waged against the Mahdi and his successor, and culminating in the victory of Omdurman, would have been impossible without the patient toil of thousands of Egyptian workmen in building the railways, working the river haulage and maintaining the far-flung lines of communications;

(b) The expenses of reconquest amounted to £2,400,000. Egypt paid two-thirds of this and was ready to pay the other third, but for the arbitrary objection of the Public Debt Commission;

(c) From the time of the reconquest, the Egyptian Government has paid for the upkeep of 10,000 Egyptian soldiers, who cost her £13,000,000. The Egyptian Army, in fact, provides the whole military garrison of the Sudan, with the exception of a single British battalion of 1,000 soldiers, whose expenses never exceed £2,000,000;

(d) From the time of the reconquest, it is the Egyptian taxpayer that has borne the whole costs of building railroads, public buildings, telegraphs and, in short, of the whole administration of the Sudan, totaling a cost of £5,600,000;

(e) The Egyptian Government has made good the annual deficit in the Sudan budgets, a deficit that has cost Egypt up to now a total of £5,350,000.

In short, it is the Egyptian peasant who has been taxed for the upkeep of the Sudan administration. He is the one who will have to pay the benefits expected to be made by the British shareholders of the wealthy cotton plantations in that country.

Although it was Egypt that actually conquered the Sudan and also paid the entire expenses of the administration since the conquest, yet Egypt was forced in 1899 to sign the Convention of the Sudan Condominium. The text of the convention provided as follows:

The British and Egyptian flags should be used throughout the Sudan; (b) the supreme military and civil command should be vested in one officer, termed the Governor General of the Sudan, and to be appointed by a Khedival decree on the recommendation of the British Government; (c) proclamation of the Governor General should have the force of law; (d) the jurisdiction of the Egyptian

Mixed Tribunals should not extend to or be recognized for any purposes whatsoever, in any part of the Sudan; and (e) no foreign consuls should be allowed to reside in the country without previous consent of the British Government.

#### VALIDITY OF 1899 CONVENTION

It is important to analyze here the nature of this convention and its validity in international law. As regards the first aspect, the convention entitles Great Britain to share in the settlement and future development of the Sudan. The question of Egypt's sovereignty does not enter into the convention at all, except in so far as the joint use of the flags may affect the question. Two arguments may be given in favor of this view: The preamble clearly stated that the agreement was meant to give England the right "to share in the present settlement and future working and development of the Sudan." The preamble also stated that it was advisable that Suakin and Wadi Halfa should be adjoined to the other provinces of the Sudan for their administration. Suakin and Wadi Halfa were never evacuated by the Egyptians and consequently it was not a case of reconquest. This shows that the object of the agreement was the administration of the Sudan without entailing its sovereignty, which remained in Egypt.

As regards the second aspect of the question—the legal value of the convention—it may be said that, apart from the obviously unjust and one-sided character of the so-called Condominium, the Egyptians have always denied the actual validity of the agreement. They give two main reasons for their view of its invalidity: (1) That although it was signed by Boutros Ghali, Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, the signature was given under the pressure of British bayonets, viz., under force majeure. From the very first, indignant protests were raised against it from every section of the Egyptian people, and it has never been ratified by any Egyptian Parliament; (2) at the time

the Condominium was signed, the suzerainty of Turkey over Egypt was admitted by Great Britain, and the terms of this suzerainty specifically forbade the assignment to any foreign power of any portion of Egypt's territory or sovereignty. In the Firman of Feb. 13, 1841, in which the Sultan of Turkey recognized the conquest of the Sudan, it was said:

*Le Khédivat ne saura sous aucun prétexte ni motif, abandonner à d'autres personnes, en tout ou en partie, les privilèges accordés à l'Egypte et qui lui ont été confiés et qui sont une émanation des prérogatives au pouvoir souverain, ni aucune partie du territoire.*" (The Government of the Khedive shall under no pretext or motive transfer to any other person, in whole or in part, the privileges granted to Egypt and entrusted to her, and which are an attribute of the prerogatives of supreme power, nor transfer any part of Egypt's national territory.)

This firman was communicated to the powers, and Turkey protested to the powers against the Condominium agreement. The agreement was thus evidently a violation of recognized international law.

#### BRITISH VS. EGYPTIAN VIEWPOINT

The British Government has now ordered the withdrawal of the Egyptian army from the Sudan. What valid pretext for this order can it give? It cannot refer to conquest, because it knows that the share of Egypt in this conquest was much greater than England's share. It cannot refer to the agreement of 1899 because, to say the least, that agreement gave Egypt a share of interest in and jurisdiction over the Sudan as great as that which it gave to England.

One argument cited by the British is that the Government of the Sudan is quite beyond the capacity of the Egyptians, who, according to the British, have always shown a marked disinclination to service in the Sudan. The first of these suggestions is, of course, a mere statement of opinion, which is naturally enough repudiated by men who are now entrusted with the far more complex Government of Lower Egypt. And if it be true that at present Egyptians evince



little enthusiasm for duty in the Sudan, one explanation commonly given by themselves is that in the Sudan today Egyptian officials work under intolerable conditions, exposed at times to slights and social humiliation at the hands, in some cases, of British colleagues younger and no better educated than themselves.

The Egyptian viewpoint proceeds from fundamentally different bases. Putting aside the conquest and the expenses incurred, it is only natural that the Egyptians should demand all or a large part of the Government of the Sudan, for out of that region come the waters which save Egypt from being a desert—the water upon which Egypt depends entirely for her existence. It is perfectly obvious to the Egyptians that as long as the British hold the Sudan the actual existence of Egypt is in their hands because they hold the Nile. Therefore, the Sudan is for Egypt an integral part of vital necessity. To prove this point conclusively I need only quote here the words of a British official second to the High Commissioner in importance—the Financial Adviser:

Give it whatever name we will, the territory watered by the Nile and extending from the mountains of Abyssinia, and from the Great Lakes to the Mediterranean, forms one integral and indivisible whole. Now that the science of the engineer has reached such a high pitch of perfection, the power which dominates the upper reaches of the Nile necessarily controls the water supply of Egypt. The possession of the Sudan is vital to Egypt even more than that of Alexandria.

Egypt is a purely agricultural country with an area of 7,100,000 acres, 5,600,000 of which are already cultivated. The population is now about 14,000,000 and it is increasing at the rate of 3 per cent. annually. With the continual increase of population the question of emigration is bound to come. Where can the Egyptians go? On the east and west they are surrounded by the desert and on the north by the sea. The only place left to them is

the Sudan. The population of the Sudan is only about one-third of Egypt, but the area is three times as large.

The Sudan is an integral part of Egypt. It is a question of life and death to the Egyptians. It is true that the British have invested their capital in the Gezira irrigation plan. But the Egyptians, providing that their sovereignty over the Sudan is admitted, are ready to protect these interests and study the matter in a thoroughly reasonable spirit. The question, however, if it ever is to be solved, must be solved in an atmosphere of peace and good-will. The method employed by the British lately—the military demonstration—will simply make matters worse. Although the Ziwer Government has complied with all the demands of England, yet in all the letters exchanged between the two parties it is explicitly recognized that the settlement is only provisional. The Egyptian Premier stresses the fact that his acceptance of the terms was due only to a state of necessity which, naturally, under the circumstances, means subject to ratification by Parliament.

The day is rapidly passing when one nation can colonize and exploit another on the implicit assumption of superiority or by the explicit display of armed force.

There is a vast difference between the Egypt of 1924 and of 1914. Education is making rapid strides. Young men are educated everywhere in Europe and America. A really friendly Egypt means a safe passage through an open canal 100 miles in length. If ever a time of stress and peril arises for the British Empire, what may be the meaning of a bitterly hostile Egypt, compelled to submit to what all her people regard as a cruel injustice? The Egyptians are in general eager to be friends to England. The solution is easy. The Egyptians desire that their sovereignty over the Sudan be admitted. To protect the interest of British shareholders, England may be conceded a fair share in the administration of the Sudan.

# Siam Keeps Step With Twentieth Century Progress

By KNOWLTON MIXER

IN a region of the world characterized by the dominance of external rulers and by the shadow of former greatness that marks the passing of old civilizations, Siam remains a free and independent kingdom ruled by a dynasty which is the product of its own history and influenced by the traditions developed through the religion, literature and arts of its people. The independence and integrity of Siam are guaranteed by treaties with the British Empire and with France. Her frontiers are safeguarded by the presence of the former of these great powers in Burma on the west and of the latter in Cambodia and Laos on the east. Since Burma and Ceylon no longer possess their independence, the King of Siam is looked upon throughout the Buddhist world as the sole surviving defender of the faith. Siam is proud to be the centre of Buddhist orthodoxy. Nor is the country unique only on this account, for Siam has inherited the riches of art and architecture of the Kmer civilization, whose ancient capital at Angkor remains the greatest monument of Asia.

Siam stands as a buffer State between British Burma on the west and French Indo-China on the east. On the north is China, and on the south the British Federated Malay States. Her contact with these neighbors is at present very close, but in spite of the existing cordial relations Siam is conscious of being a small and isolated State surrounded by great powers. The fate of such States in the past has been absorption, but there is no reason to doubt that Siam will continue to maintain her independence even if wars rage around her. Her location brings the nation under constant observation so that it may be said to be on probation to civilization for its orderly development.

Whether this feeling has had any effect on the present attitude of the Siamese Government or whether it is the result of Western education and the natural evolution of more liberal ideas, the fact remains that the Government, though absolute, is certainly beneficent in its rule. After viewing the contentment and prosperity of the people, the apparent absence of poverty in any serious form and considering the vital part which the State religion, of which the King is the patriarch, plays in the community life, one would be bold indeed if he were to suggest a more liberalized form of government, which might tend to throw the present successful organization out of equilibrium.

The Siamese (Thais) call their country the "Muang-Thai," that is, people of the Thai race. Recently, however, they have revived the old name "Muang-Sayam." The existing race was evolved from the Lao-Thai of Southern China and of the Kmer races from Cambodia. While the language, of the Siamese-Chinese family of languages, is Lao-Thai, the racial characteristics, customs and religion of the people are Kmer. As early as 575 A. D. Lao-Thai colonists had entered the northern portion of what is now Siam from their settlements on the upper Mekong. The overshadowing event in Siamese develop-

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Mr. Mixer, after a business career at Buffalo, N. Y., during which he was active in social and philanthropic work, became in 1917 an officer of the American Red Cross, holding a succession of important positions leading up to his appointment in 1919 as Commissioner for France with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. After a year of welfare work in Baltimore, Mr. Mixer became in 1921 executive secretary of the Porto Rico Chapter of the Red Cross, and from December, 1921, to February, 1924, served as manager of the Philippine Islands Chapter. It was in the course of his travels in the last few years that he visited Siam and the other Asiatic countries of which he has such a thorough first-hand knowledge.



ment, however, was the expulsion of the Lao-Thais from Southwest China by Kublai Khan in 1250. This drove this vigorous race South into the present Siamese territory and profoundly affected not only Siam but also the whole of further India. This was the year of Marco Polo's arrival at the court of the great Khan and he undoubtedly participated in this epoch-making event.

### SIAM'S RISE TO POWER

The reliable written history of Siam dates from the founding of the ancient capital Ayuthia, whose ruins still lie along the River Menam about sixty-three miles north of Bangkok. Ayuthia arose on the ruins of Sano, the last stronghold of the Kmers in 1350, and became the capital of the first true King of Siam. Ten years earlier the descendants of the Chinese Lao-Thais, the dominant race in Siam, had taken the magnificent capital of the Kmers at Angkor in Cambodia with 90,000 prisoners, and from that time the power of Cambodia weakened and fell completely under the sway of Siam. Not only to the east, but also to the south and even to Java was the power of Siam extended. The twelve miles of ruins of the once powerful capital of the Kmers and their temples to Brahma and Buddha, built in 860 A. D. and 1150 A. D., respectively, still stand almost intact on the shores of Lake Tonlé Sap in Cambodia, overgrown with jungle. These stupendous

structures, whose remains are the most massive and impressive ruins of Asia, were built entirely of large stones perfectly fitted without cement and profusely carved. The ancient civilization which they expressed has been absorbed and diluted into the Cambodia and Siam of today, but its art and architecture still live in the six hundred "Wats" of Bangkok with their admirable carving in wood and stone, their exquisite glass mosaic, lacquer and tiles and in the characteristic designs of the temples themselves. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Siam was frequently invaded from the west by Burmese and Peguan, and Ayuthia was finally taken



Map of Siam



KING RAMA VI. OF SIAM

in 1555 and the country reduced to dependence on Burma. The Siamese, however, under Phra Naret retook the city and subdued the Burmese for the time. Civil wars in the eighteenth century gave the Burmese again their opportunity, of which they were not slow to take advantage.

#### FIRST KNOWLEDGE OF SIAM

The earliest knowledge of Siam came to Europe in 1511 through the Portuguese, who for a century controlled the traffic between Europe and this part of Asia, only to be supplanted by the Dutch, who in like manner for the succeeding century were commercially supreme. Early in the seventeenth century here, as elsewhere, England became the dominant sea power. An exchange of courtesies is recorded between James I. and the King of Siam, who at that time had several Englishmen in his employ. In spite of this, Englishmen at Mergui were massacred in 1687 and the post was abandoned a year later. In 1786, however, the Island of Penang was

transferred to the East India Company, thus marking the southern boundary of Siam, and a treaty of friendship with Great Britain was executed in 1824. This was followed by a similar treaty with the United States in 1833. After a somewhat heated argument with France over the boundary on the east and north-east between Siam and Laos and Cambodia, which required the presence of French troops in its final outcome, a treaty was signed with France and with England in 1854 which guarantees the independence of Siam and the integrity of her present frontiers. These treaties have lifted the menace of foreign domination and have provided the opportunity for internal reform. This the last three rulers have used to good purpose.

#### A ROMANTIC CHAPTER

One of the most romantic chapters in Siamese history is that which tells the story of Constantine Faulkon. Of Venetian origin, but born in Greece, he came of humbler beginnings than his fellow-countryman, Marco Polo, but was scarcely less successful in the influence he exercised in the country of his choice. He went from England to India in the employ of the East India Company, and after many vicissitudes, which reduced him at times to the point of starvation, he rose by the use of his native talents to be the councilor of the King of Siam and the virtual ruler of the kingdom. He was beloved by all except those who feared his power. His great influence over the King is seen in his attempt to establish Catholicism as the State religion, though it eventually failed and led to Faulkon's death. In 1665 he represented the Siamese monarch on a special mission to the French Court and offered Louis XIV. the opportunity to become the dominant factor in further India. Faulkon's absence gave his enemies their chance, and the embassy sent by Louis XIV. met with a cold reception on arrival in Siam, while Faulkon was accused of treason and executed. If this plan, which so nearly succeeded, had actually been carried out France would have acquired a greater empire in the

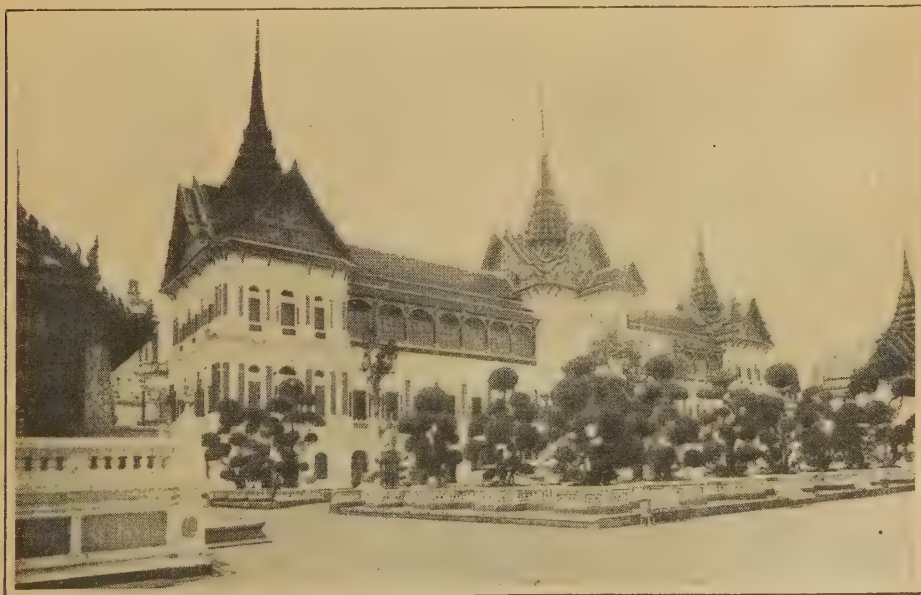


East than the one she possesses today and Siam would have ceased to exist as an independent kingdom. It was during the same period that an attempt was made to introduce Mohammedanism from Persia. This also failed. Siam thus remains independent of foreign control, whether political or religious.

#### ROBBER CHIEFTAIN

Another picturesque figure in the history of Siam is Phya Tak, the robber chieftain, who consolidated the kingdom, drove out the Burmese after the fall of Ayuthia in 1767, and brought from Laos the emerald Buddha, the pride and glory of Bangkok. This Buddha, about two feet in height, carved from dark green jade, forms the apex of a glorious pyramid of glass, jewels and gold statuettes of the disciples. The chapel whose carved doors of teak, exquisite lacquer panels and blue gold tiles with tongues of gold leaf make it a véritable jewel box of Kmer art, forms a brilliant corner of the walled enclosure of the Grand Palace, whose western outlook is on the rapid flowing Menam. The group includes a royal palace,

the ancient hall of audience of the King, other "wats" or temples and council halls, all dominated by the three great gilt prachides (memorial pinnacles), the unique Siamese expression of religion and art. The establishment of Bangkok as the capital dates from the fall of Ayuthia in 1767, although a fort had been built on the same site by Faulkon in 1675. The city is therefore now but 157 years of age; yet it boasts of 600 "wats" or temples to Buddha, each of more or less artistic beauty. These express the modern conception of Buddhism through the medium of Kmer traditional art. The 650,000 inhabitants of the city dwell mostly along the great river and on canals (klongs) which flow into it. The dwellings are built of bamboo and palm and are generally raised on piles driven into the mud banks. Often dwellings are erected on two or more boats which permits the owner to moor his house at a convenient spot and to move it at will to another. The people live on and in the water to a large extent and dependence on fishing as a means of subsistence is common among the poorer classes.



The Grand Palace of Rama VI., King of Siam



The King of Siam taking part in the great religious festival of Lo Ching Cha

### THE SIAMESE NOBILITY

In contrast to the life of the ordinary Siamese family is the great luxury and ease of the nobility. As polygamy is permitted to Buddhists and is possible only to the wealthy, this class is more numerous than would otherwise be the case. Their dwellings, the most important on the bank of the Menam, are modern palaces containing every luxury and convenience. Of such palaces the King has several. In contrast to the religious architecture of the temples is the new throne hall built to celebrate the achievements of the predecessor of the present King. This building, an excellent specimen of modern Italian Renaissance, was constructed at great expense in a new portion of the city and was decorated by Italian artists.

The last three kings of the present

dynasty have shown themselves enlightened and benevolent rulers. Phra Parmendr Malia Mong Kut and his son Chulalong Korn, the latter an administrator of high order, both endeavored to work along the lines followed by progressive Governments. The original model was England, where many of the young princes and noblemen were sent for their education. In recent years, however, many have been sent to America. The chief foreign adviser to the King was for many years Dr. Stroebel, an American, who recently died in Bangkok beloved by the Government and the people. The United States is held in high esteem because it was the first of the great powers to abrogate completely its rights of extraterritoriality.

The present sovereign, King Rama VI., succeeded King Chulalong Korn in 1910. Rama's father had followed the Siamese tradition of incestuous marriage to the extent of thirty-five queens and had become the father of a large number of princes of the blood royal, but the new King, a graduate of Oxford and Cambridge, for many years refused to marry and only within the last four years has taken to himself three wives, all, however, outside the royal family. The plan of sending to foreign countries for education young men destined to hold position in the Government, inaugurated by King Chulalong Korn has been continued by his successor. The aristocracy very generally speaks English, so that it may fairly be said to be the polite language of Siam. The present King is an accomplished Shakespearean scholar and has translated several of the bard's plays into Siamese. He is much interested in the drama and is himself an able actor.

Although an advisory council, several members of which are Americans, divides the work of administration into departments for which they are responsible, the Government is absolute in practice as in form. The aim of the present monarch, following in the footsteps of his father, has been stated to be the consolidation and development of "what has been accomplished in the last



forty years and to lead the nation wisely toward the fulfillment of its aspirations for a fuller sense of nationhood." The trend of development is distinctly modern in its tendency. Public gambling and public revenue obtained from gambling have been abolished. Control of the opium traffic has been initiated. Progress in this direction is slow, since opium as a Government monopoly produces approximately 25 per cent. of the total revenue. Siam is still limited by treaties to customs duties of 3 per cent. Until she is permitted to raise these duties the Government does not see its way to abandon its opium revenue. Siam has not only adopted the budget system but keeps expenditure below revenue. In 1920 her revenue exceeded expenditure by 13,500,000 ticals (a tical is worth 45 cents) in spite of an expenditure of nearly 20,000,000 ticals for the army and navy and 9,000,000 ticals for the expenses of royalty.

#### A GREAT RIVER

The source of Siamese prosperity is the one great river, the Menam. Rising in the Eastern Himalayas, it flows through 800 miles of Siam to the Gulf. The largest part of the 8,500,000 inhabitants are found in this great valley, particularly about the mouth of the river, where the rich soil makes life easy. The annual flood of the Menam renders an area of 20,000 square miles in fertility and productiveness the very garden of the world. No equal territory on the face of the globe exceeds it in potential wealth. Occasionally the waters rise too high and become destructive. It is then that the King calls upon his Bonzes (Bud-

dhist priests) to command the inundation to proceed no further. The State barges are manned and the priests issue the royal mandate to the waters.

Every native house along the river or the canals has its net suspended in front of the door and each evening this is dropped into the stream to produce the evening meal. One is surprised after rain to see the fisherman at work with his pole and line in the shallow ponds far from the canals. This is explained by the presence of the wandering fish (the plaxon about the size of a carp) which glides out of the river into the jungle during the rain and is sometimes found some miles from its natural habitat.

A close connection exists between the Buddhist priesthood and the laity, since elementary education, which is now compulsory, is in the hands of the monasteries, and because of the rule that every



The Wat Cheng, the highest temple in Siam



The American Legation at Bangkok, Siam

male citizen, whatever his rank, must serve as a priest for at least a few months. Every young nobleman must, therefore, shave his head and don the yellow robe at some period of his career and subsist for the period of his service on what he can beg from door to door. Early in the morning one may see the barefoot priest, with his bowl slung over his shoulder, seeking his ration of hot rice and fish on the streets. This universal service makes for uniformity of doctrine. There is no open dissent from Buddhism. The King as the high priest of the Buddhist hierarchy exercises a spiritual as well as a political control, which is strengthened by the centuries of tradition which have made it possible.

Bangkok is one of the few places in Asia where the classic plays or ballets illustrating the adventures of the mythical Prince Rama, follower of Guatama, are still to be seen. The royal troupe of

dancers is trained from childhood in the muscular distortions necessary to maintain the conventional attitudes and to explain in pantomime stories frescoed on the walls of the temples. So like are they to the painted and carved figures that they become the living interpreters of the temples themselves and of the religious emotions they represent. The accompanying music is interpreted by fiddles, flutes, drums and harmonicons, which play in unison, as harmony is not known to the native composers.

Remote from the competition of armaments and commerce, and living easily and peacefully on the products of their own fertile lands, the Siamese people, under the leadership of their ruling class, are being guided by gradual steps toward a fuller and more enlightened civilization. Siam is distinctly a modern nation in the making.





# Acute Japanese Problem in South America

By GENARO ARBAIZA

**T**HOUGH the United States has definitely closed its doors to Japanese immigrants, the latter are finding their way into Latin America under conditions which, within a few generations, may create one of the most amazing problems of our times.

Bordering upon the Pacific and ignored by European emigrants the countries of Western South America have aroused the interest of the human myriads of Asia, and particularly of Japan. Barred from Australia, Canada and the United States, the Japanese now turn their eyes toward those countries which, almost without hope of other than very meagre white colonization, have been compelled to accept and even invite Asiatic immigration. It is there that Japan has apparently begun "dumping" her surplus population during recent years.

Following the Russo-Japanese War, Japan, in 1906, took the first steps to organize emigration to Latin America. Up to that time there had been no direct communication and practically no relations between Latin America and Japan. The Japanese Government now began to send missions to various Latin-American republics in order to investigate economic conditions and study the prospects for immigration. It then signed treaties of amity and commerce with these countries, established diplomatic and consular representatives, promoted commercial relations, encouraged emigration and colonizing enterprises and subsidized steamship lines to South America. The result was that a steady human stream from the Far East began to flow across the Pacific in 1906, just eighteen years ago. It was upon the arrival of the first Japanese contingent in Mexico that the anti-Japanese agitation

which culminated in the present exclusion provision of the new immigration law started in California.

In 1906 the Japanese population in Latin America was practically nonexistent; today it may be estimated at about 100,000, mainly concentrated in three countries, where there are important Japanese settlements. Japanese syndicates from Tokio are engaged in sending colonists to Latin America; Japanese capital has obtained concessions in the lands of the far south; Japanese labor is widely employed in South American agriculture, and the Japanese settler is penetrating local industry in various sections. Japanese commerce has made an equally good start in this field. In 1905 Japan's trade with Latin America was almost negligible, amounting to about \$125,000; in 1922 it had jumped to more than \$12,500,000. In eighteen years it has increased one hundred fold.

At present the Japanese Government is working out plans to open a wider field to Japanese emigration to Latin America. A special mission with this purpose in view left Japan in September, 1924, to visit Mexico, Central America, Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Peru. A permanent Emigration Com-

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mission was recently formed under Baron Shidehara, Minister of Foreign Affairs. According to current reports, the Kato Cabinet had arranged an increased subsidy to the Osaka Shosen Kaisha Steamship Company for the construction of three new passenger liners for its South American service. It was estimated that with the ships already in operation, facilities would be available for the transportation of about 70,000 emigrants to South America annually.

Starting with 100,000 settlers in Latin America, in less than two decades Japanese immigration to that region, if unrestricted, may give rise to momentous consequences. The Japanese population at home grows at the rate of about a million a year, and Manchuria, Korea, Hawaii and other territories that have attracted Japanese emigrants heretofore do not offer an inducement comparable to that of tropical America. The influx is likely to increase in the latter direction now that Asia has discovered the New World.

Peru, the main point of penetration, has had another Asiatic immigration, that of Chinese, since the middle of the nineteenth century, and the Chinese are being assimilated by the brown masses. A Japanese mass immigration, however, would present a different problem. Should the Japanese come by the hundreds of thousands to a country like Peru there could hardly be assimilation by the native elements, but the reverse process may take place. The presence of a powerful Mongolian group may tend to absorb the Indian and Indo-Iberian population.

#### ECONOMIC FACTORS FAVOR GROWTH

But even if there should be no actual racial admixture or interassimilation on a large scale for decades, the mere economic factors would offer favorable conditions for the growth of a Japanese population. The transpacific migratory movement has mainly followed three courses: to Mexico, Brazil and Peru. Other Latin-American countries are also reached by it, but in negligible numbers. A few thousand Japanese

have settled in Bolivia, Chile and Argentina. In former years Chile went to the extent of offering one lot of land to each settler who was father of a family, 75 francs a month during the first year of settlement and farm implements. The most important development regarding Japan's relations with those countries, however, was a remarkable increase in trade following the establishment of direct, subsidized steamship lines between Japan and Iquique, Chile, through which Bolivia is also reached, and Buenos Aires, Argentina, via the Cape of Good Hope. Japanese trade with Bolivia, Chile and Argentina was practically non-existent in 1905. In 1922 Japanese exports to those countries aggregated about \$4,170,000, and Japanese imports from the same source about \$3,587,000.

As in other parts of Latin America, the Chinese preceded the Japanese in Mexico. Many thousand Chinese were already in Mexico when Japanese immigration began there. The first contingent of one thousand Japanese landed in 1906, and from that time on the Japanese immigration increased up to the signing of the Gentlemen's Agreement, when emigration of Japanese laborers to territories contiguous to the United States was restricted by the Japanese Government. The Mexican revolution of 1911 possibly had also a limiting effect. Now that the Gentlemen's Agreement has been brought to an end by the new United States Immigration act, it is doubtful whether Tokio will try to restrict it. The Mexican Government, on Oct. 8, 1924, signed a treaty of peace, commerce and navigation with the Japanese Government which makes ample provisions for the settlement of Japanese nationals in Mexico.

Before the revolution of 1911 Mexico encouraged Japanese immigration. In 1909 the Mexican Government granted a subsidy of 26,000 francs to a Japanese line, the Toyo Kisen Kaisha, for the establishment of a direct service between Yokohama and Salina Cruz, and offered facilities to immigrants, such as



subventions to farmers and industrial enterprises, reimbursement of traveling expenses, exemption from military service during ten years following naturalization and relief from some taxes. A Japanese company secured a concession to establish fisheries off the Mexican Pacific coast and started business with intention of extending operations to Peru and Chile. A check to Japanese progress in this region was sustained on Nov. 15, 1924, when Governor Abelardo Rodriguez of the Northern District of Lower California, after an aggressive anti-Japanese campaign, announced that he had canceled extensive fishing concessions on the Gulf and Pacific coasts of Lower California, on the ground of alleged violation of the terms of the concessions. Important Japanese settlements were established in the zone of Chiapas and on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. Most of the Japanese colonists settle as farmers.

The anti-Japanese attitude of Governor Rodriguez is symptomatic of a state of feeling sporadically revealed in Mexico. A manifestation of hostility occurred in 1908, when a Japanese contingent arrived to work in a mine at Chihuahua. In June, 1924, the Immigration Inspector at Manzanillo, apparently following instructions from Mexico City, ordered the re-embarking of sixty Japanese subjects who had arrived to start a colony on the west coast. There has been, however, no announcement of general restrictive measures in Mexico, and the new treaty above referred to reopens the way to Japanese settlers, if it ever was barred. In the meantime, the prospects for European immigration in Mexico have improved, as may be gathered from the recently reported agreement between Italy and Mexico for the settlement of 500,000 Italians in Mexico and the invitation extended by President-elect Calles for Jewish mass migration into that country, which would bring at once thousands of Jews stranded in European ports because of the new quota restrictions.

#### PENETRATE HEART OF SOUTH AMERICA

In the heart of South America, south of the equator, the basin of the Amazon covers a vast territory, whose riches remain as yet practically unconquered. Japanese colonization tends to penetrate this area, which is potentially, perhaps, the wealthiest spot on earth. Most of this region is within the boundaries of Brazil and part within the boundaries of Peru. At present it is reached from the Atlantic by way of the Amazon River, although it is also possible to find arduous access to it through Eastern Peru; but in the future it will undoubtedly be reached from the Pacific by modern means of transportation. It is a noteworthy fact that Brazil and Peru have had a larger share of the Japanese immigration than the rest of Latin America. About 90 per cent. of the Japanese immigrants entering Latin America have gone to these two countries. If the Japanese flow into the Amazon basin in large numbers and acclimate themselves there they will have conquered where the white man has failed to conquer.

A Presidential decree opened the Brazilian ports to Japanese colonists in 1907. The Brazilian Government has aided the movement, offering the immigrant facilities for the acquisition of lands. The State of Sao Paulo gives them free railroad transportation, and before the war it used to grant them individual subsidies of 200 francs. In some cases the immigrants have moved into Brazil at the Government's cost.

The inflow increased rapidly. Many Japanese colonies have been formed or are in process of formation. The Kio-kokou, a Japanese colonizing enterprise, sends emigrants to the State of Rio, and the Imperial Company of Japanese Emigration has found place for thousands of Japanese laborers on plantations, docks and railroads. Japanese settlements are mainly devoted to agricultural pursuits. Japanese companies have acquired tracts of land, and Japanese are employed on coffee plantations in Sao Paulo, gold mines in the State of Minas Geraes, textile plants in the State of Rio de Janeiro, and in

other agricultural and industrial fields. Within a few years after they began to enter Brazil the Japanese stood fourth on the list of nationalities furnishing immigrants, being excelled in number only by the Portuguese, Italians and Spaniards. White emigration to Brazil goes mainly to the south, toward the Temperate Zone, is partly seasonal and has decreased in recent years. As for the Amazon region, there has been no white immigration there to any considerable extent.

The Japanese population in Brazil, on a conservative estimate, numbers more than 50,000. When rail and water communication opens up a way to the reaches of the Amazon basin from the Pacific Coast the Japanese immigration there, if nothing stops it, may grow to formidable figures. Brazil had practically no trade with Japan in 1906; in 1922 the exchange of products between the two countries amounted to more than \$500,000.

Should the surplus human millions of Japan be dumped in South America, Peru is likely to be the scene of a perplexing racial encounter. Geographically Peru is the country in South America not accessible to Asiatic emigration; racially, most of its population comes from the Indian stock, that is believed to be akin to the Mongolic type. The Chinese came to Peru long before the Japanese, and a comparatively large Chinese colony thrives in Peru and is being gradually assimilated by the mestizo masses. When slavery was abolished in Peru in 1855 and great numbers of negroes abandoned the plantations to live in the towns the sugar and cotton planters began importing Chinese coolies to take the place of negro laborers. Chinese immigration soon grew to considerable proportions and was the main source of labor in some sections. The coolie became the yellow slave, and as such was cruelly treated. Not many years ago the rich planters of the Chicama Valley in their night card parties wagered Chinese coolies instead of cash. The following morning hundreds of Chinese immigrants would be trans-

ferred from the losers' plantations to the winners' haciendas in settlement of gambling debts.

In the course of years the Chinese moved from the plantations into the towns, and the coolie became a petty shopkeeper. In seventy years tens of thousands of Chinese have thus settled in Peru, and many of them have married mestizo or mulatto women. The brown women as a rule show little repugnance to mating with the Chinese; the Chinaman, they say, "makes a good husband." While the white element in the Peruvian population regards the Chinaman as an undesirable, the masses in general are not hostile toward him. In 1908 the Peruvian Government forbade Chinese immigration, but upon representations of the Peking Government it cancelled the decree of exclusion in 1909 on condition that the Chinese authorities restrict the emigration themselves. Lima, capital of Peru, has its own Chinatown. One feature of the Chinese colony there is the prestige of the Chinese physicians, who are said to perform remarkable cures.

Beginning as the yellow slave of native planters, the Chinaman, with characteristic patience and frugality, has prospered and has made himself a landowner in his own right. Sixty years ago he was a pawn on the card tables of cotton and sugar magnates; today he is an investor in these very products. According to a recent report of the United States Commercial Attaché in Peru, "the Chinese have acquired fairly important interests in Peru, and some half dozen firms of this nationality have at least \$5,000,000 invested in cotton and sugar haciendas." The total of Chinese investments is given at \$10,000,000, a comparatively large sum.

#### PERU AS A "SECOND HAWAII"

Japanese immigration in Peru has grown and prospered much faster. It is well organized, systematical and has the Tokio Government behind it. Within a few years it has not only furnished great numbers of laborers and created settlements but has also secured a foot-



hold in the business and industrial life of Peru.

Experimental Japanese immigration began in 1899 from Kobe to Callao. The Marioka Company was one of the first engaged in sending out colonists. Following the establishment of a direct steamship line in 1907 there was a steady influx. The number of Japanese settlers there is variously estimated at between 30,000 and 60,000, a large figure for a country with a population of about 5,000,000. Many Japanese, imported as indentured labor, are employed on the sugar plantations of the coast, where they take lesser pay than the native laborers. Many others have settled in the Amazon region as agriculturists and a good many are engaged in most of the lines of trade and industry, such as silk, wool, cotton, sugar, tobacco, coffee, rice, leather goods, groceries, restaurants, bakeries, wood-working plants, soap manufacture, building materials, real estate, India rubber goods, chemical products, glassware, distilleries, matches, toys, and so forth. The diversity of lines entered is suggestive of a thorough commercial penetration. The Sociedad Comercial Japonesa, an organization of Japanese merchants, helps the Japanese business man and the Japanese immigrant. The colony in Lima has a newspaper, the *Nipi Shimpo*, printed in Japanese.

#### POSSIBILITIES IN PERU

This growth seems to confirm the forecast of a Japanese review, *Toyo Kaizai Zachi*, some years ago, pointing to Peru as offering to Japanese emigration the possibilities of a second Hawaii. But in Peru the possibilities are even greater. There the yellow and the brown races, possibly linked by a remote kinship, are meeting now after ages of separation, and their renewed contact may bring about a great racial change. Suppose the Japanese immigration there grows to a million or more in a century, a fact entirely pos-

sible in view of present conditions. The population of the Andean republics is widely scattered and vulnerable. In Peru less than 5,000,000 people live on an area larger than the combined territory of the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Maine, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, the Carolinas, Ohio, Alabama, Indiana, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Florida. Will the mixed native Peruvian population of prevalent Indian type assimilate the Mongolic group? Will the presence of a dense Asiatic colony only increase the existing racial maladjustment? Or will a compact and race-conscious Japanese group prevail over the native elements and give rise in America to a new nationality, a nationality of Mongol type?

There are, on the Andean highlands and the Pacific west coast of South America, from Ecuador down to Chile, from five to six million Indians, the racial remains of the ancient Incan empire. The Spanish invaders of the sixteenth century destroyed their social organization, reduced the Indian race to servitude and made themselves the master class. But they mixed with the Indians, and the result was a large mestizo population which represents the process of absorption of the white by the Indian. Of course racial absorption does not mean a perfect assimilation, but it means the disappearance of the numerically weaker group. The mestizo population of the Andean republics, not including Colombia, may be estimated at between seven and eight million. The old white master class itself has disappeared as a racial group, the mestizo having asserted his influence more and more within that class since the colonial period. The surviving white minority is doomed if there is no white immigration, and there is little prospect of such immigration.

The Japanese come at the precise historical moment when this process of absorption is nearing completion.

# The Menace of the Drug Addict

By FREDERIC A. WALLIS

Commissioner of Correction, New York City; formerly United States Commissioner of Immigration

OF all the plagues visited upon our land, drug addiction is by far the most horrible and the most deadly. In my early years, as Chairman of an important State Welfare Committee in Kentucky, I saw then the menacing evil of this narcotic drug traffic. On moving to New York while still a young man, my active interest in this and similar problems has continued in a larger field for a period of twenty years. Later, as Deputy Police Commissioner of New York City, then as United States Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island, and now as Commissioner of Correction of New York, I can say without reservation that, in the light of my experience, the greatest menace confronting civilization today is drug addiction.

The solution of the problem must begin at the other side—the source of supply. We must go to the poppy fields of India, Turkey, China, Persia, Serbia, wherever the commercial poppy is grown, and there apply the first measures of Government control. So far the international attempt to rescue the world from drug addiction has been a disgraceful failure, largely for mercenary reasons. The United States instituted the first conference at Shanghai in 1909. It failed, as Bishop Brent, the presiding officer, stated, because “the resolutions adopted have no binding force.” The Hague conference of 1911-1912 failed because only twelve nations responded. The second Hague conference of 1913, with thirty-four nations participating, failed because Great Britain and Germany while accepting the treaty in principle delayed ratification in fact. The third Hague conference of 1914, at which representatives of forty-

three nations were present, failed because, although Turkey, Greece and Serbia participated, they refused to be bound. That year the World War intervened, and seven years later, 1921, the Council of the League of Nations fell heir to The Hague Opium Treaty. Then an Advisory Opium Committee was appointed to carry on the unfinished work. Repeated conferences of this committee have been held at Geneva, the United States taking a prominent part. The most practical work that this Geneva conference could possibly perform would be to serve unmistakable notice on those in authority that political evasion and commercial diplomacy will no longer be permitted. Indeed, it is inconceivable that the greed of two or three countries should be permitted to corrupt and destroy the civilization of the world. Nor have the statistics gathered by the Advisory Opium Committee so far answered the eternal problem of how to control contraband illicit traffic in opium. Congress recognized this dilemma, and at its last session passed the Porter resolution, which was signed by President Coolidge.

There have been moral spasms of energy to combat the opium evil all over the world since the United States brought about that first conference at Shanghai in 1909. Since then different nations have adopted certain measures. The United States passed the Harrison act, which was purely a revenue measure, and Great Britain the Dangerous Drugs act, which, however, does not apply to her possessions in India or the Orient. No one nation can cure itself of drug addiction. The United States is the largest user of drugs of any na-



tion in the world. The survey made under the direction of the United States Treasury and recently published showed that there were more than 1,000,000 addicts in this country. Some estimates go as high as 4,000,000. The extreme secretiveness thrown about the addict and the mysterious underworld seclusiveness, which always accompanies the traffic itself, render it impossible to ascertain accurate figures. The amount of opium used by the leading nations of the world, according to the latest statistics, is as follows:

The annual per capita consumption in Italy is one grain; in Germany, two grains; in England, three grains; in France, four grains; in the United States, which does not grow one commercial poppy or coca leaf, the enormous amount of thirty-six grains per capita per annum—practically four times the combined use of these leading European nations. Even India, with its long opium antecedents, uses only twenty-seven grains per capita. Furthermore, our consumption of opium is steadily on the increase, and this in spite of the Harrison Narcotic act of 1914, which is conceded to be the most restrictive and punitive drug measure ever passed by any nation. These figures show essentially that the consumption has increased five grains per capita since 1914.

#### AMERICAN CONSUMPTION

In order that we may the more fully appreciate what thirty-six grains of opium per capita means to the United States, let us visualize the result. It is stated that if the morphine which is derived from these thirty-six grains of opium were dispensed in the usual medical doses of one-eighth of a grain each, it would be sufficient to keep every person in the United States under the influence of an opiate for twenty-nine consecutive days. Thirty-six grains per capita consumption of opium in the United States is based on the 1919 total imports, and included opium imported for purposes of manufacture. The records, of course, do not show the manu-

factured products re-exported and smuggled back into this country.

There is an inseparable relationship between drug addiction and crime. All drug addicts are criminals, either actual or potential, and there is no limit to their atrocities when deprived of their drug. Heroin changes a misdemeanor into a desperado of the most vicious type. Every day we read of murders, hold-ups and robberies by drug-crazed individuals. Shocking as it may appear, the increase in narcotics has been accompanied by an increase in crime. This is particularly true as to the increase in the use of heroin, which is the most insidious and crime-inspiring of all drugs. The medical profession is a unit in this country in declaring that there is neither medical nor scientific necessity that would warrant the use of heroin. When we consider that the United States uses more of these powerful opiates than all the leading nations of Europe combined, we begin to understand why there are more murders in a single American city than in all the countries of Western Europe. And do we not feel justified in asking the question, Why is suicide increasing at such an alarming rate in this country?

There are people who are under the impression that there is some relation between drug addiction and prohibition. This, of course, is not true. William McAdoo, Chief Justice of the New York Municipal Courts, stated to me that he had been unable to trace any connection between the two things. The thousands of drug addicts brought before his courts, men who have been drug addicts for years, never touched intoxicating drinks. The craving for narcotic drugs and the thirst for intoxicating drinks have nothing in common, except that both lead to ruin. Nor is there any comparison of the destroying and deadening power of the two evils. A small amount of alcohol is fatal to one person, while five ounces of morphine would probably kill 1,500 people. A young man becomes a confirmed drunkard in from one to ten years, but within a few days

a boy or girl may become an addict beyond recall. It has been calculated that five ounces of heroin would produce 10,000 addicts in a very few days.

Every State in the Union should provide for compulsory instruction, not only in physiology and hygiene in the public schools, but that such instruction include a knowledge of the disastrous effects on the human system of habit-forming drugs. Steps in this direction have already been taken by the International Narcotic Educational Association, which, under Lieutenant Richard Pearson Hobson, has concluded plans for standardization of narcotic instruction in the schools and colleges, and is preparing a program to reach the 23,000,000 young people in the educational institutions.

The illicit traffic in narcotics has become so widespread in this country that it is said that Federal authorities are unable to curb it under existing legislation and appropriations. The United States District Attorney for Southern California has made the statement that 60 per cent. of the time of the two Federal Grand Juries in Fresno and Los Angeles is taken up with cases of violation of the Harrison Narcotic act, and that the force of Government agents and the Federal appropriation are not sufficient to cope successfully with the problem. A welfare publication in California, issued in the interest of abolishing the drug evil, states: "This so-called 'dope' evil is spreading so rapidly, even among our children, that high school students and even pupils in the elementary grades are falling prey to it through the agency of the illicit peddler." A recent report of the Federal Grand Jury at El Paso, Texas, states:

It has come to our observation that boys between the ages of 12 and 15 years are being taught the use of narcotic drugs, that these boys once in the grip of this vice sell the clothes their parents provide for them, steal and indulge in other petty crimes for the purpose of obtaining funds to satisfy their cravings. We find that one boy has stated to officers of the law that he has about twenty companions of his own age who are drug

users. Another boy disclosed that there are forty of his child companions using narcotics. Peddlers of drugs are giving it away to some children to create narcotic addiction, thus enlarging the demand for their illicit traffic.

#### WHAT ADDICTS PAY

The United States Treasury Department estimates that of the drugs used by addicts 90 per cent. comes through illicit traffic. Addicts pay any prices—some of them \$10, \$15, \$20, and even \$30, and more a day, according to the intensity of their cravings and how much money they have. The addict is bled by the unscrupulous peddler to the last cent. Indeed, in New York we know of instances where peddlers have been selling surreptitiously for heroin, brass polish and vermin powder and strychnine and other diabolical substitutes.

There are five principal ways in which people get started in the use of drugs—evil associations, the commonest cause; use of patent medicines; ignorance and idle curiosity; through inheritance; and drugs prescribed by physicians, this last being less frequent than when fewer pain-killing drugs were known. Babies are born in drug addiction, and, horrible as it may seem, they actually begin life under the influence of narcotic drugs, and many of them at their mother's breast. What can society expect of children whose father or mother, or both, are criminal addicts? What will the children's attitude be toward society? How many generations will be poisoned by the offspring of men and women who are given entirely to the use of drugs and its attendant evils? In the New York City Department of Correction there is located on Riker's Island the largest drug addiction hospital in the world. Many of its inmates are self-committed. Men and women voluntarily come to the courts, stating in substance that they would prefer being committed to the Correction Department and kept in confinement away from drugs than to be free and exposed to drug temptation outside. While visiting the institution recently



I saw 113 self-committed addicts. I talked to two or three of the more hopeful-looking. To my amazement I found that they had taken the cure in our department before, some of them several times. The next day the City Bureau of Identification gave me the following statistical record:

#### ADDICTS AS CRIMINALS

Out of a given number of 1,200 drug addicts, 902 of them had served previous sentences in our institutions from twice to nineteen times, and this was regardless of prison records in other institutions. The report further showed that we had received at Riker's Island for drug treatment during the year 114 persons for cure the second time, 48 persons for cure the third time, 31 persons for cure the fourth time, and so on. Indeed, some of these addicts come back as many as thirteen times for the cure. Why do they return for the cure? Can they ever be cured? I have never seen one case of permanent cure that I could trust. Typical is the case of a young man, 21 years of age, who was released from jail one day and locked up again in the Tombs the following day for a crime. He informed me that as soon as he was released from the penitentiary a drug peddler met him and gave him a "shot." Afterward, he said, he was ready to do almost anything to procure more heroin. Records compiled three months ago by the New York City Correction Department showed that nearly 60 per cent. of the inmates in all the city's penal and correctional institutions were users or sellers of drugs. There was an average census, including those under parole, of from 4,500 to 6,000 prisoners within the jurisdiction of New York City. The head of the Bureau of Identification in the Correction Department is better informed regarding statistical records of

drug addiction than any other man, and he states that from the records passing through his hands daily there must be in the Greater City of New York close to 200,000 drug addicts of the underworld type. There are many more addicts of whom nothing is officially known. They include the addicts belonging to the upper strata of society. Recently a cable dispatch from Paris reported that the number of victims in Paris and vicinity was rapidly increasing and that there were disquieting signs that the habit was even creeping in among the working classes. Statistics placed the number of addicts in Paris and its vicinity at 200,000, which equaled the approximate number in New York.

At a hearing before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives in April, 1924, on a bill to prohibit the manufacture of opium, my personal recommendations appeared in the published report of that hearing as follows:

In my opinion no measure is too radical or severe that would prohibit the manufacture and sale of habit-forming drugs. Medical and scientific uses should be under strict governmental control. Heroin must be speedily suppressed.

Shortly after this hearing the Congress enacted legislation forbidding the importation of heroin or the use of it in the United States for any purpose whatsoever. We are leading the world in progressive legislation to curb the drug traffic. Drugs must be controlled entirely and exclusively by the Governments themselves, both as regards growth and sale of the raw products and their manufactured preparations. The establishment of governmental control to cover medical prescriptions and scientific use of the habit-forming drugs would end the underworld illicit traffic and would effectually preclude the creation of the non-therapeutic addict.

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# Recent Scientific Developments

By WATSON DAVIS  
Managing Editor, Science Service

MANY scientific achievements of the past year and plans for the coming year were discussed at the largest meeting in the history of the American Association for the Advancement of Science held in Washington. More than a thousand scientific papers were available for consideration. The retiring President of the association, Dr. Charles D. Walcott, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, took as the text for his address the reckless and wasteful exploitation of our seemingly inexhaustible natural resources, which, he said, had brought the United States to a point where only the prompt application of scientific methods of conservation and utilization could prevent a serious check to national development.

Life on Mars? Possibly, is the verdict of Dr. W. W. Coblentz of the United States Bureau of Standards who reported to the association the results of extended researches on the temperature of the earth's neighbor planet, which for the first time is shown to have temperatures above the freezing point of water. He holds out hope for some sort of animal life, troglodytic in character, burrowing deep and hibernating. For vegetation Mars may have mosses and lichens such as thrive under the Arctic snows on earth. Through observations made at Lowell Observatory Dr. Coblentz has discovered that the weather in the equatorial zones of Mars is just a daily alternation of severe freezing and thawing. For a few hours at noonday the surface temperature ranges from 40 to 60 degrees. At night the temperature takes an immense drop of 180 degrees, and nearly everything becomes solid. The Martians must have very deep cellars and efficient heating plants, or else they are creatures able to exist at a very low temperature, perhaps some fantastic grasshopper or ant able to go into a torpid state during the very cold Martian nights. Life in the polar re-

gions of Mars might be happier. It does not get so warm there, and even in Summer the South Pole weather report reads: Temperature 76 degrees below zero. But the days are long, equivalent to 8 to 12 terrestrial months, and an inhabitant there would not be continually freezing and thawing out. Some form of life strange to the earth might find living conditions more favorable there.

Venus is also suspected of supporting life. Dr. Coblentz has evidence that Venus may rotate on its axis similarly to the earth and Mars. The temperatures seems to indicate that it gets chilly at night and warms up during the day on Venus just as it does on earth and on Mars. To the speculation on the appearance and intelligence of Martians, there may be added guesses on the personal appearance of possible people on Venus.

Experiments in educating children younger than the conventional six years of age in special nursery schools instead of allowing them to learn haphazardly in the home had a prominent place on the program of the American Association. Experience in Detroit shows that babies from average homes who attended a nursery school showed an increase in intelligence over those of the same age who stayed at home. Loss of a month of progress during the first year of life may be as serious as a whole year or more of retardation in later school life, according to Dr. Arnold Gesell of Yale, who is conducting experiments which will result in a standard of mental development for children under a year old. The Yale Psycho-Clinic has made systematic studies of fifty normal infants at four months, six months, nine months and one year of age, and has found out just how the infants should act, react, talk and behave at various ages. In addition to weighing and measuring her



child, the mother will soon be able to watch its mental and psychological development and compare its performance with the average.

The germ causing epidemic hiccoughs has been discovered. Dr. Edward C. Rosenow of the Mayo Foundation announced to the American Association the isolation and identification of a streptococcus, a microscopic round germ that throws off a poison that acts on the nervous system and causes the spasms that result in hiccoughs. This new germ is somewhat like the one that causes severe tonsilitis and certain kinds of blood poisoning. Widespread waves of this uncomfortable disease spread through Eastern cities recently, and while it is rarely serious the victim hiccoughs continually for from two to eight hours.

Discovery of germs so minute that the most powerful microscope could not see them and the finest filter could not strain them out was recently announced by Dr. F. d'Herelle, a Canadian working at the Pasteur Institute in Paris. At the American association meeting, Dr. Lloyd Arnold of Chicago denied that these ultra-microscopic germs existed, and he attributed the effects of d'Herelle germs to toxins, enzymes, or ferments, non-living substances that have powerful properties. But new and startling results are being obtained with the new medical methods, whether living germs do the work or not. The strange serums or germs have the power of reproducing themselves and seem to prey on harmful bacteria. D'Herelle claims that a very few drops placed in a city's water supply would clear up certain epidemics.

Totally deaf persons may soon be able to hear speech through their hands, if an instrument invented by Dr. Robert H. Gault, Professor of Psychology at Northwestern University, is perfected. Several years ago he discovered that it might be possible for the deaf to hear with the aid of the sense of touch, and now he is on leave of absence from the university and is devoting his whole time to this research under the auspices

of the National Research Council, Washington. He is working upon deaf subjects exclusively and has taught five of them to identify fifteen sentences, aggregating ninety words of one syllable each, with as great accuracy as the normal person can identify the same sentences over the telephone. The idea of the instrument is that it will be held in the hand or against any other part of the body and will vibrate in unison with the speaker's vocal apparatus, much the same as the way in which the receiver of a telephone vibrates in unison with the voice of the speaker at the transmitter. It is then just a matter of learning what a combination of vibrations means when it is felt upon the skin, precisely as we learn the meaning of other signs. This is not a matter that can be easily learned, but it can be learned, and is within the realm of possibility for the not very distant future. We are likely to forget that we have to learn by hard labor exactly what similar combinations of vibrations mean when they fall upon the ear. We forget because those lessons were learned more or less casually, and because the learning was distributed over many years and over nearly all the waking hours of the days.

#### SOLAR ENERGY

Again the sun is radiating a normal amount of energy, Dr. Charles Greeley Abbot, Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, has learned as a result of his observations of solar radiation. Two stations are maintained by the Smithsonian Institution, one in Arizona and the other in Chile, so that observations may be made daily with as little interruption from adverse weather conditions as possible. These observations are sent to Washington daily, where the data are compiled. The variations during the last six years have been about 8 per cent. and the average daily range is about 3 per cent. from the normal. The earth is emerging from a low period of solar radiation extending from the beginning of 1922 to the beginning of 1924, during which the values scarcely ever reached the normal of

many years. The present values are approximately normal.

Dr. Frank E. Lutz, curator of insects in the American Museum of Natural History, New York, challenged the idea that every sound that an insect made had its meaning. "Judged by human ears, the best insect-musicians of today belong to rather primitive orders," Dr. Lutz says. "The more advanced groups, such as ants, bees, flies and butterflies, make no sounds that we can hear, or else, at most, what seem to us to be nothing more than faint squeaks, buzzes, hums or clicks. However, it is entirely probable—indeed, practically certain—that insect sounds are not made for the purpose of being heard by human ears. Whether the insects themselves hear these sounds is the important question, and one that has not been—possibly cannot be—determined beyond all doubt." In this connection it should be remembered that in man's affairs at least many sounds are made without intention and even contrary to desire—for example, sneezing and snoring.

A new process of gas treatment for celery, by which blanching or whitening may be at once hastened and cheapened, has been devised by Professors R. B. Harvey and L. O. Regental of the University of Minnesota. Both green and self-blanching varieties were exposed to varying concentrations of ethylene and acetylene gas. At average room temperature, self-blanching celery became completely blanched in four to five days with a single dose of ethylene, varying in concentration from one part in a thousand to one in ten thousand. Ordinary green varieties of celery under the same treatment required ten to twelve days.

#### A NEW DISEASE

The most menacing science news of the month was the report of a mysterious and unidentified disease which has caused a severe epidemic in Japan. The new disease was at first reported, unofficially, as cerebro-spinal meningitis, and then it was thought to be encephalitis lethargica, the so-called "sleeping

sickness" which has been troublesome here and in Europe since the war. Finally it was found to be a hitherto unidentified epidemic disease involving the central nervous system, including the brain. The explosive character and the intensity of the new disease surpass even the outbreaks of encephalitis and acute poliomyelitis, or infantile paralysis, which have been particularly acute in recent years. The incidence was nearly three per 1,000 inhabitants in the most seriously affected province, Kagawa, and the mortality was reported as 60 per cent. This level of mortality was higher than that met in other serious diseases, such as encephalitis and poliomyelitis, and approached the fatality rate of deadly epidemic cerebro-spinal meningitis. The new disease is more likely to attack old people, particularly those over 50 years of age, than young, and more men than women are affected. Another remarkable feature is that more than one case per family or house occurs but rarely. No successful treatment has been evolved, although the disease has been produced experimentally in rabbits. The onset of the new disease is sudden and accompanied by a high temperature. After one or two days, loss of consciousness and a slightly maniac condition occurs. Either death comes in five to ten days or recovery is effected with a falling of temperature and a regaining of consciousness.

Hope for those suffering from tuberculosis has been aroused by announcement of a new treatment for this disease originated in Denmark. Now a thorough test of the new treatment is being made under the auspices of the United States Public Health Service. The new method was put forth by Professor Mollgaard of the Royal Veterinary College of Copenhagen, who has called the preparation used "sanocrysin." The material used consists of a preparation of gold in combination with thiosulphuric acid known as aurithiosulphate. Probably the sodium salt of this compound is what is used. On introduction into an individual this sub-



stance produces a rather severe reaction evidenced by nephritis, fever, skin rashes and shock. This is interpreted by the Danish scientist as evidence of the solution of tubercle bacilli in the sick individual, as the same reaction with the same dose does not occur in normal individuals. To offset the severity of this reaction and in a measure to control it, Professor Mollgaard makes use of an anti-tuberculosis serum, which is prepared by the Danish State Serum Institute, by injecting dead tubercle bacilli into either calves or horses. After proving to his satisfaction that the cure was valuable in animals, Professor Mollgaard arranged with Dr. Secher of the Municipal Hospital in Copenhagen to test the cure in human cases of tuberculosis. The report of this clinical investigation of its value was recently made in Copenhagen, and the reports were favorable as to its value in certain types of pulmonary tuberculosis, but doubtful as to its value in surgical tuberculosis and severe cases of pulmonary tuberculosis. Arrangements were then made for the testing of the material in England. An American pharmaceutical company has become interested in the distribution of this material in America, but inasmuch as part of the cure is a serum, it is necessary, as provided by law in the interest of safeguarding the public health, that this new cure have the approval of the United States Public Health Service before it can be sold in the United States. The Public Health Service, through its Hygienic Laboratory, has arranged with the best equipped scientific men in this field to carry out a series of animal experiments and has arranged for the study of the cure in clinical cases in America under the direction of a Danish physician who has used it in Denmark. These studies are being pushed with the greatest rapidity, but not until the cure has been shown to be successful will it be available for distribution. The Danish treatment recalls efforts of the great German bacteriologist, Koch, discoverer of the tuberculous bacillus, who tried the double chloride of gold

and sodium in the treatment of this disease. Thirty or more years ago two Detroit physicians, Dr. Gibbes and Dr. Shurley, also advocated the use of a double chloride of gold and sodium in tuberculosis cases, and many successful treatments were reported. American physicians are intensely interested in the close resemblance between the Copenhagen product and that used years ago in this country.

Dr. C. B. Lipman of the University of California has devised an apparatus like a hypodermic needle with which curative solutions and food are placed directly in the circulation of growing plants. The natural method of providing the tree with its sustenance through the soil by means of fertilizers can thus be superseded by direct feeding and medication. Primarily, the new method is being used as a first aid to sick citrus trees. Orange and lemon orchards are sometimes attacked by a disease called chlorosis which causes the leaves to become yellow and the trees to cease bearing fruit. Professor Lipman and his associates attended some trees that had been in this nearly dormant condition for three years. They bored holes into their trunks to about three-quarters the diameter. Then glass tubes were inserted and sealed tightly with a special wax. Reservoirs containing a solution of ferrous sulphate were attached and the trees were allowed to drink up the solution. In three weeks the yellow leaves had been replaced by green ones and the trees had taken a new lease on life. They now give signs of fruiting. Citrus trees are heavy users of calcium, in which some soils are deficient, and the University of California scientists have found that injection of calcium nitrate or chloride into their trunks will cure and prevent a harmful mottling of the leaves due to lack of this salt. This ushers in a new era in feeding and stimulating plants. The soil can be ignored completely and the nitrates, phosphates, calcium and magnesium salts necessary to its growth can be fed directly to the tree. The insect menace can also be combated by the new injection method.

# Armies and Navies of the World

By GRASER SCHORNSTHEIMER

## THE UNITED STATES

POSSIBLY the most important event of the month was the naval court of inquiry at the Brooklyn Navy Yard for the purpose of trying Captain R. L. Berry and Captain Hugo W. Osterhaus for giving out information of value to the navy. The gravamen of the charge was that in divulging details of a war game at which all the student officers are present to practice the two accused officers imparted a vital secret through a letter written by Captain Osterhaus to Captain Berry about "how we were sold out at the Washington Conference." The Judge Advocate of the court was Commander S. S. Lewis. The findings, of course, were secret, and were immediately forwarded to Washington. Captain Berry was at one time naval aid to the late President Wilson. The letter was originally published by W. B. Shearer in a campaign for an adequate navy under the Naval Treaty. Mr. Shearer has published other official information showing the navy to be at the very lowest ebb, but so far the Navy Department has been unable to locate the sources of his information.

A few weeks ago the old battleship Illinois, reconditioned as a training ship, reached her anchorage in the North River, New York. The Illinois had to be completely gutted of her guns, machinery and armor in order to comply with the terms of the treaty. The officers report that she makes one of the finest drill ships they have ever seen. She has been given as a drill ship to the New York State Naval Militia.

For some time it was proposed that the Shenandoah accompany the fleet to Hawaii and take part in the tactical manoeuvres of the Pearl Harbor base. The proposal was finally shelved, as the vessel has proved too short in radius to attempt any great use in manoeuvres.

The authorization which was passed through Congress making it possible for the navy to bring some of our ships up to modern strength has not yet found favor among the officials, simply because funds are not available. One ship, the Florida, will have \$300,000 spent upon her in the Boston Navy Yard, in an attempt to have her put in steaming condition. Congress, in voting the amount of money necessary to make a beginning in bringing the navy up to its proper proportions, passed a bill authorizing an expenditure of \$110,000,000. The original bill, known as the Butler bill, called for approximately \$160,000,000. This the House reduced to \$130,000,000 and the Senate finally to \$110,000,000.

The National Advisory Committee on Aeronautics has drawn attention in its annual report, transmitted to Congress by President Coolidge, to the lack of an adequate "aircraft industry," which is "absolutely essential to national defense. One lesson of the war that will not be forgotten is that it takes a great deal of money to develop hastily an aircraft industry almost from nothing. The American people can ill afford to pay that price a second time." The Government is concerned that there should be at least "an adequate nucleus" capable of rapid expansion to meet war needs.

## BRAZIL

IT has been ascertained that the revolt on the Brazilian battleship Sao Paulo was led by only a few lieutenants of the mess. These men cowed the other officers in their quarters and brought the battleship as rapidly as possible to Montevideo, Uruguay, where it has presented an international question for the last month or so. It is now quite certain the vessel will be returned to Brazil.



The construction of twelve warships is recommended in a resolution adopted by the Naval Committee of the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies, to consist of two cruisers of 10,000 tons each, four destroyers of 1,440 tons each, one destroyer of 1,800 tons and five submarines of between 1,300 and 1,500 tons. Further aviation development is also recommended.

#### JAPAN

THE various statements officially issued by the Japanese Government showing the comparative tonnage of cruisers as well as that of other vessels have been generally contradicted by the Navy League and could be contradicted by any authority in Washington. In return the Navy League points out that in modern cruisers and very probably in submarines Japan exceeds America.

Official announcement has been made that the special service ship Kwanto has been lost off Tsuruga, Western Japan, during a terrific blizzard. The Kwanto displaced about 10,000 tons.

#### GERMANY

GERMANY is building guns of various calibre and it is feared by the French that the provisions of the Versailles Treaty concerning disarmament are not being carried out.

Professor Fritz Haber, who invented poison gas and furnished Germany with the deadly chemicals with which to fight France, has returned from a visit to Japan, where he went for the purpose of bringing about closer relations between Japan and Germany in the matter of gas warfare. Japan is just beginning to organize a gas section for her army, and in looking about for competent teachers has chosen the inventor of the poison.

#### ITALY

THE Chamber of Deputies has passed naval estimates presented by Marquis Admiral Thaon di Revel, Minister of Marine, for 923,000,000 lire. It stated this was one-fourth of the amount needed for 1923-24.

## From Foreign Periodicals

### France's Improved Credit

FROM L'EUROPE NOUVELLE (PARIS), DEC. 6, 1924.

THE entire issue of this political weekly is dedicated to the examination of the financial situation of the French Republic at the end of 1924. As was to be expected, the Minister of Finance, Etienne Clémentel, contributes the chief article, taking French credit as his subject. Quite satisfied with conditions, he attaches particular importance to the feeling of confidence evidenced throughout the world toward France and comes to the conclusion that French credit, having gone through many trials, is now beyond reach of attack. His arguments are these:

The general economic situation justifies, indeed, all our hopes. To begin with, we have a favorable trade balance—something we did not have up to 1923. In 1924 the sur-

plus of exports amounted to about 3,000,000,000 francs. The reconstruction of our liberated provinces is almost completely finished; our factories are working full time; the houses are, almost every one of them, built and the railroads of those provinces are in the same shape as before the war. This general improvement of economic conditions translates itself into increased revenue of the great State industries, such as the State tobacco monopoly, the mail service, the State railroads, and also in increases in the values of taxable properties.

Our only sensitive spot is our Treasury. We must, therefore, concentrate there all our attention, because through the gradual improvement of our public finances we shall re-establish that confidence which is necessary if the State is to recover its financial stability. In this direction we have already achieved a considerable success when we transformed into long-term credits those advances that were extended to France shortly

after the great crisis of our credit early in 1924. The capitalists of the United States have given us a proof of their thoughtful confidence when they subscribed in less than forty minutes the \$100,000,000 we were asking in order to consolidate the Morgan loan. The new credits we have secured abroad will permit us to act in such a way on the exchange markets as to control and oppose all speculation inimical to our interests.

Our combined measures of a balanced budget, a foreign loan and an internal loan will give a new impetus to the public credit of France, which in turn will bring about the betterment of our national money and increase the values of our rentes (national bonds).

## Anglo-American Ascendency

FROM LA REVUE HEBDOMADAIRE (PARIS),  
Nov. 22, 1924.

IN this French popular weekly Herve de Rauville comments on the result of the recent general election in Great Britain, his point being that British political parties, no matter how widely separated on matters of internal policy, always have a common front in their dealings with foreign countries. According to this writer there is no such thing as an international socialism in Great Britain, and the average Briton, no matter what his political affiliations and sympathies, is above all nationalist and a firm believer in the doctrine of hierarchy. The workingman who belongs to a trade union does not accept socialism in the same sense as his Continental brother. He is not carried away by the wave of a leveling internationalism; he believes in his rights and privileges and he respects those of the others.

The various Ministries, be they called Tory or Whig, that succeed one another in the management of Great Britain's affairs may differ on the question of protection and free trade, but in dealing with the foreign countries they have always been guided by one great principle, which may be assumed as follows: Continuously to advance the cause of British hegemony over Europe and prevent any nation of the Continent, and particularly France, from reaching a preponderance of power, which would be dangerous to the economic and military interests of Great Britain. In accordance with this British policy, which is unaffected by any changes in the European situation, the chief aims of the various British

Governments since the armistice have been the same, whether under Lloyd George, Bonar Law, Baldwin or MacDonald. All have had one aim—to re-establish Germany, even if at the expense of France. Why? Because under no condition should France be allowed to regain that old preponderance which had been hers for six centuries. For the same reason France should never be allowed to possess the ores of Lorraine and the coal of the Rhineland, which combined would bring her to the same economic and industrial level as Great Britain. Moreover, Great Britain desires control for herself, and in this object is supported by the United States. The Dawes plan and also the 800,000,000 franc loan to Germany, of which the United States has taken one-half and Great Britain one-fourth, constitute the most tangible evidence of the Anglo-Saxon plan to dominate the entire question of European credits. At the same time the Control Commission of the new Reichsbank, whose object is to resuscitate Germany, is dominated by the Anglo-Saxons, who will work hand in glove with the German delegates. All this means that the United States in conjunction with Great Britain is already intervening, not only in the affairs of Europe but even in the internal affairs of the European States. Under such circumstances the Treaty of Versailles becomes null and void. This state of things has come to stay and the Anglo-Saxons will remain, as long as they wish, the money lenders of Europe and the masters of the credit situation in Europe.

## Turkish Nationalism and Europe

FROM GERARCHIA (MUSSOLINI'S MONTHLY)  
MILAN, NOVEMBER, 1924

CORNELIO DI MARZIO, who contributes an article on Turkish Nationalism, is frankly disillusioned about conditions in the ancient empire of Osman. He sees in the present uncompromising attitude of the Turkish Nationalists an element of destruction and decay, without any redeeming feature. The Turks have immured themselves in the fastnesses of Anatolia, jealously maintaining their isolation and shutting out all foreign influences, except those which come from Germany. The Italian writer goes on to present a vivid picture of life in Angora, the new Turkish capital. In a country which is left all by itself, in a city where night begins with the setting of the sun, and where the only aristocratic way to spend a long night



is at the picture theatre (there is one), in a city where the sense of remoteness from the rest of the world is made more vivid by the sight of long processions of camel caravans and immense clouds of dust, in a centre where all political discussion is confined to the Turkish press, and where there are no book stores, and foreign papers never come, and where the ancient monuments are crumbling, and electric light is a matter of the future, and where the streets are broken and narrow, and where the bakery shops and khans are the only kind of hotel—in other words, in Angora, Turkish Nationalism takes on the same aspect as its geographic environment; therefore it is dry and ascetic.

In her struggle against the Greeks, Turkey was helped by Italy and France in the West and by Russia in the East. Gratitude not being a political virtue, none of these three powers have received any return for their assistance. Despite the services rendered them, at Lausanne by Italy, the Turks have not treated her any differently. The Italians did not get preferential treatment, neither did they obtain any concessions; to make matters worse, although Italy was one of the first countries to ratify the Lausanne Treaty, the Turkish press has not failed to attack that document in the most approved way. Even today Turco-Italian relations are marked by mutual distrust. \* \* \* France has the two burning questions of the Syrian frontier and the religious schools to settle with the Turks, but both remain unsettled, while other problems connected with the Turco-French financial dealings of the past make the situation still more difficult. Russia remains the traditional enemy. That brief anti-European alliance between the Bolsheviki and Moscow and the Nationalists of Angora is a closed incident. The two countries have reverted to their ancient antagonism over the waterway leading to the Mediterranean, while trouble is also brewing on the slopes of the Caucasus. The question of Mosul has created a recrudescence of anti-British feeling throughout Turkey, and all the Balkan States, not even excluding Bulgaria, are solidly aligned against the Turks. Thus, the only remaining friend and adviser of the Turks is Germany. Everything connected with the present Turkish State is either German or pro-German.

## In Memory of Camoens

FROM EL IMPARCIAL, MADRID, DEC. 16, 1924.

THE month of December in Portugal was notable for a series of ceremonies in honor of the fourth centenary of the great

poet Luis de Camoens, the immortal author of "The Lusiad." At the conclusion of the festivities in Portugal a special mission was sent to Spain in appreciation of the hospitality given to Camoens 400 years ago. The Spanish papers on this occasion gave long accounts of the ceremonies in Madrid, interpreting them as a manifestation of the understanding between the two countries of the peninsula.

The special mission sent from Portugal was officially received by King Alfonso in the Escorial Palace on Dec. 14. The main celebration was held in the National Library of Madrid, where the Director spoke on the subject of Spanish-Portuguese brotherhood as Camoens felt about it when he wrote "The Lusiad." "The temporary differences that arise from time to time between the two countries," the speaker said, "are mostly the outcome of political considerations and have only served to bring the two peoples closer together."

## Some Observations After the German Elections

FROM VORWAERTS, THE CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, BERLIN, DEC. 16, 1924.

THIS paper, commenting on the results of the recent general election in Germany and the resignation of the Marx Cabinet, attributed the entire political crisis to the German People's Party led by Stresemann, whose object was to bring about the formation of a Government of the Right, in order to change the direction of the foreign policy of Germany. Seldom was the resignation of a Cabinet less dramatic. The Marx Government dissolved the Reichstag in order to secure a more reliable majority for its foreign policy. For the Centre foreign policy was the foremost consideration; while for the German People's Party all considerations of foreign policy were driven back by the strong economic interests of the German Nationalist groups. This was the main difference between the Centre Party and the German People's Party. The former wanted to stabilize an established foreign policy; the latter to throw the whole Government more to the Right, so as to serve the interests of the German industrialists at the risk of abandoning the present policy and of involving Germany in new difficulties. Having thus explained the aims and purposes of the recent crisis, Vorwärts shows that there is no chance for any political combination to secure a majority in Parliament on any other program except the one that was originated by the Marx Cabinet. The verdict at the polls was in favor of the

existing foreign policy, and no argument can change that.

Of course when Stresemann thinks of forming a Cabinet he does so under the impression that he can secure the secret cooperation of the 45 Communists, without whom the Reichstag would have 448 members instead of 493. Of these 448 the three great Republican parties have 232, a sure majority. With the 45 Communists, the Popular Party and the Nationalists can oppose 261 votes against the 232 of the Social Democrats, the Centre and the Democrats. Everybody knows that a bloc of the Left cannot count on the support of the Communists, and should not expect any help from that side. Therefore, we come to the conclusion, strange as it may seem, says Vorwärts, that the Communists today are the main support of the social reactionaries.

## Central European Danger Zone

FROM POLITICA, ROME, NOV. 25, 1924

IN this leading Italian monthly devoted to political history, Attilio Tamaro, criticizing those who underestimate the seriousness of the situation in Central Europe, warns his readers against the roseate reports sent to the press by those interested in giving only one side of the picture. He contends that conditions in the danger zone of Europe are just as alarming today as at any time since the war. The crumbling of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy has not resulted in solving the different racial, national and social problems of the Central European peoples. Speaking of Austria, it is a fact that the statesmen and economists of Europe speak only in financial terms, totally ignoring the existence of the politicians. There is a financial and economic crisis in Austria which plays havoc with all classes of the population and threatens the work undertaken by the League of Nations to remedy conditions in the country. If the League's plan fails, or the Socialists come to power, no one can foretell what may happen. The Nationalist Germans and even the Socialists still believe that the only solution of the Austrian problem is annexation to Germany. It is almost impossible to find in Austria any one who sincerely believes that the country has the necessary economic and political strength

to remain and advance as a separate and independent State. The majority of the people look with great aversion on the control of Austria by the League of Nations, regarding it as a form of servitude. The authority of the State over the provinces and the political parties has grown steadily smaller.

Czechoslovakia suffers from the general unsettled condition and also from the artificial constitution of its Government, in which none but the Czech parties are represented. Recently the Government has adopted a more severe policy toward the Slovaks, the Germans, the Magyars and the Ruthenians. This is now changing, because the Government, in view of the next general election, is trying to secure a majority by means of concessions to the Slovaks and the Germans. But the Germans are no more friendly to the Czech State today than when it was established, while the Slovaks are more bitter than ever against the Czechs. Finally, the Ruthenians are so dissatisfied with the Czech State that they have appealed to Russia.

Hungary, fallen into the hands of the League of Nations, is a victim of false charity, whose position is rendered more difficult by internal strife and by the fact that 3,000,000 Magyars are suffering under the yoke of the Czechoslovaks, the Yugoslavs and the Rumanians.

The situation in Yugoslavia has not been stabilized, in spite of the accord between Raditch and Davidovitch. The Croat leader has made many concessions, but he has not given up the main object of his struggle—the right of the Croats to independence. He supported the Davidovitch Cabinet to bring about a general election that would not be conducted by the Radicals of Pashitch. Raditch's plans were frustrated by the return to power of Pashitch, who will manage the election after all. In the meantime Raditch is busy organizing the revolutionary committees of minority races in Montenegro and Northern Albania.

Conditions are no better in Rumania, where political stability has been often placed in jeopardy by serious financial crises and ugly scandals. The presence of a strong Russian army on the Bessarabian border is a bad omen for Rumania, inasmuch as the foreign races that form nearly one-third of the population of the Kingdom of Rumania are eagerly awaiting invasion by Russia in order to reclaim their own independence.



# A Month's World History

## Events in the United States

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

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### CABINET AND OFFICIALS

THE most sensational and momentous event in Government circles in the month under review was the sudden resignation of Charles Evans Hughes as Secretary of State. The Secretary's letter of resignation, dated Jan. 10, 1925, gave as his only reason for resigning the fact that he had been almost continuously in public service for twenty years and that he desired to return to private life. His resignation was to become effective on March 4. President Coolidge, in his acceptance of the Secretary's resignation, expressed the President's regret and his feeling of personal loss over the severance of their official relationship.

In the statement issued from the White House on the evening of Jan. 10 the President announced that Secretary Hughes would be succeeded as Secretary of State by Frank B. Kellogg of Minnesota, now United States Ambassador to Great Britain, the appointment to be effective as from March 4. It was announced on Jan. 11 from Paris, where Ambassador Kellogg was attending the Allied Financial Conference, that he would accept the appointment. The resignation of Mr. Hughes and the appointment of Mr. Kellogg, a choice apparently made virtually on the President's own initiative, occasioned great surprise in diplomatic circles in Washington. No explanation other than the official statement was given by President Coolidge.

One other Cabinet change was announced. By the retirement of Justice of the Supreme Court McKenna a

vacancy was created, to which the President at once appointed (Jan. 5) Attorney General Harlan F. Stone. Notwithstanding the protest of practically the whole Michigan delegation in Congress, the President three days later nominated as Attorney General Charles B. Warren of Michigan, an experienced public man and the President's personal friend. It was announced unofficially that there would be no other Cabinet changes except the appointment of a successor to Secretary of Agriculture Howard M. Gore, who was Governor-elect of West Virginia.

Among minor appointments may be mentioned the following: William K. Harrison, to be Indian Commissioner; A. W. Hall of Pennsylvania, as Director of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing; J. E. Hoover, succeeding Burns as Director of the Investigation Bureau of the Department of Justice. The country was startled (Jan. 1) by the suspension of six postal officials and the summary removal of others. The charge was that these six men raised money from Post Office employes to influence pending measures for increasing Post Office salaries. The prosecution of Colonel Charles R. Forbes for corrupt administration of the Veterans' Bureau and of Albert B. Fall, former Secretary of the Interior, dragged slowly along.

### FEDERAL JUDICIARY

James M. Beck, former Solicitor General of the United States, proposed (Dec. 20) that Congress, by a joint resolution signed by the President, should have the right to require an advisory opinion from the Supreme Court on the

constitutionality of pending statutes. This practice, which is required in Massachusetts by the State Constitution, has never been used in the Federal Government. Even Mr. Beck admitted that the court could not be compelled to render such an opinion; and in general the Supreme Court has been wary of accepting any responsibility which was not a part of its regular judicial duties.

#### THE PRESIDENT

The President in the month under review followed his usual course of remaining quietly in the White House, receiving executive and legislative callers and coming into touch with groups of visitors. He took a direct interest in the question of housing in the District of Columbia, and it was announced (Dec. 27) that he would urge Congress to create a commission to regulate rents in the District, as was done during the World War and until about six months ago. The American Association for the Advancement of Science drew from the President a graceful speech, in which he paid a tribute to the great influence of scientific men. During the holidays President and Mrs. Coolidge took part in dedicating one of the community Christmas trees and in singing carols on the White House lawn. On New Year's Day the President received officials and subsequently the general public. Among his expressions on public questions was the suggestion (Dec. 16) that an official study be made of the causes and prevention of the thousands of deaths on the highways, mostly due to automobiles, "from the common desire of the States, to give the highest protection to the people, to regulate traffic in the most efficient manner."

On Jan. 5 it became known that the President had written identical letters to leading Republican Senators and Representatives urging that the program for reorganization of the Government departments, as outlined by the Joint Committee on Reorganization in a special report filed in the Senate and House on June 2, 1924, be passed dur-

ing the present session of Congress. It was stated that both branches of Congress were planning to comply with the President's request at the earliest opportunity.

To the National Council of Farmers' Cooperative Marketing Associations (Jan. 5) the President suggested that a cooperative movement should begin with the farmers and not with Congress; and he emphasized "the fact that all human society is a vast system of co-operations and corporations. \* \* \* Cooperation must start from the soil \* \* \* it must train the people who are to use it to think cooperatively."

At a White House breakfast held on Jan. 8, and attended by many prominent men, spokesmen of the National Citizens' Committee of One Thousand for Law Enforcement, the President expressed warm approval of the movement to bring about a more efficient enforcement of all State and Federal laws, especially with reference to prohibition.

#### POLITICS

A formal statement of the vote in the November election (Dec. 23) was as follows:

		Per Cent. Total Vote.
Coolidge .....	15,700,000	55.4
Davis .....	8,400,000	20.9
La Follette .....	4,800,000	16.6

Total vote.....28,900,000

This total was more than 2,000,000 more than the vote in 1920. The largest Republican plurality was in Pennsylvania, 992,000; the largest Democratic plurality was in Texas, 350,000. In each of twelve States of the Northwestern, Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast section, La Follette had more votes than Davis.

Senator Bruce of Maryland and Senator Harrison of Mississippi (Dec. 29), expressed opposing opinions of the reason for the Democratic defeat. Bruce insisted that it was the result of abandoning the principles of Jefferson and Cleveland, particularly the State rights



doctrine that the States and not the nation ought to deal with such questions as water power. Harrison replied that the trouble with the Democratic Party was its alliance with the Progressives. Senator Walsh, re-elected Senator from Montana, defended his party and insisted that there had been no alliance with the Progressives. La Follette's followers in Congress at the same time protested at being shut out of the Republican caucus, and announced their intention of reorganizing the Progressive Party.

The trend of State politics was especially interesting in New York, where Governor Smith, the only candidate on his ticket to be elected, found himself in collision with the Republican majority in both houses of the Legislature, who seemed determined to prevent him from getting the credit of putting through measures which sprang from his initiative, however much desired by the people of the State.

The immediate question was whether all control over new systems of rapid transit should be exercised by the City Government or by a State commission. Governor Smith appointed Justice McAvoy to hold an inquiry into the reasons for the delay of seven or eight years in completing and initiating new subways. Behind that was the more serious question whether Tammany Hall would support Hylan. Copeland took the aggressive in the struggle by demanding that Smith be superseded as a political leader by some other leader in the State, whose identity he did not clearly indicate. The Governor on Jan. 12 sent a message to the State Senate and Assembly urging enactment of legislation to enable the Board of Aldermen to elect a successor to Murray Hulbert, ousted as Aldermanic President by Supreme Court Justice Proskauer. This action was taken in an attempt to straighten out the tangle caused by Mr. Hulbert's disqualification by becoming a member of the Finger Lakes Park Commission.

Two other State happenings drew national attention. Mrs. Nellie Taylor

Ross was inducted into office (Jan. 5) as Governor of Wyoming, being the first of her sex to hold such a position in the United States. Mrs. Ross succeeded her husband, the late Governor William B. Ross. Professor Hiram Bingham, who was formerly a member of the Faculty at Yale University, was inaugurated as Governor of Connecticut (Jan. 7). He held this office for just twenty-four hours, at the end of which time he went to Washington to assume his duties as United States Senator. By an odd sequence of events, after being Lieutenant Governor for two years, he had been elected Governor on election day, and subsequently elected Senator on Dec. 16, as successor to the late United States Senator Brandegee.

#### FINANCE

There was every indication that the private financial organization of the country was flourishing, though five small banks in Iowa, several of which had heavy public deposits, suspended payments (Dec. 31). In national finance the figures ran to totals unheard of except in wartime. The Appropriation bill for the combined service of the Treasury and the Post Office, after it left the Senate Appropriations Committee, was fixed at \$763,000,000.

The income tax remained a subject of lively discussion. Official figures early in January showed that in the eight fiscal years 1917-24 the Government received \$26,976,000,000. Refunds were made to the amount of \$363,000,000, which was less than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the total received. A Senate committee, under the chairmanship of Senator Couzens of Michigan, began an investigation of the Internal Revenue Bureau.

The question of publicity of tax returns remained pending in the courts. A Federal Judge dismissed a prosecution against The Baltimore Post for publishing the names and amounts of taxpayers, on the ground that there was inconsistency in the Federal statutes. A new question arose as to the liability of

State and municipal employes to pay income tax. The Federal Government took the view that officials were exempt on salaries derived from municipal Governments; but that employes of public utilities carried on by State or municipal Governments were not officials and were liable.

High taxes and some economies in Government gave the Federal Government during the last year a book surplus of \$935,000,000, thus reducing the Federal debt (leaving out bonds issued for foreign debts) from \$26,600,000,000 in August, 1919, to under \$21,000,000,000. Hence, when the Government offered \$200,000,000 4 per cent. thirty-year bonds they were subscribed five times over.

#### BUSINESS AND BUSINESS ORGANIZATION

The business world has grown accustomed to several measures of prosperity. One is the amount of bank clearings from month to month; another is reports made by the Department of Commerce; another is the summaries and predictions of private concerns which make it a business to sell surveys and prognostications of financial weather. The Federal Reserve Board (Dec. 26) showed a steady condition of business during November and December. The Department of Agriculture showed an average increase of about 9 per cent. in the value of grain crops.

Secretary Hoover expressed his conviction that agriculture, domestic business and foreign trade were all in a prosperous condition, and that the world, excepting Russia and China, was going well. He believed that the statistics of the last three years showed a reasonably even level of prices standing at about 50 per cent. higher than in the years immediately preceding the World War. An immense increase was reported in the gross assets of the principal life insurance companies; they had risen from \$7,600,000,000 on Dec. 1, 1923, to \$8,360,000,000 a year later. The sales of the mail order, chain store and department stores showed an increase over those of a year ago. In general,

therefore, the business of the country was satisfactory and unemployment was small.

Senator Capper of Kansas stated (Dec. 14) that the present state of things was on the whole satisfactory to the West, which he held to be "perhaps the most firmly conservative part of the country. \* \* \* The protest of the West is against privilege and not against property." Acting under the weights and measures clause of the Constitution, Capper also proposed a Federal bill to fix standard weights and wrappings for loaves of bread.

Secretary of the Interior Work was reported to be much exercised over the possible exhaustion of our oil resources in view of the present production of more than a million barrels a day. President Coolidge also pointed out that there were 300,000 oil wells in the country, thousands of which now produced nothing. He showed his interest in the oil question by designating (Dec. 18) a Federal Oil Conservation Board, made up of the four Secretaries of War, Interior, Agriculture and Commerce.

That the farmers, particularly in the West, were profiting by higher prices was shown by a recent report of the War Finance Corporation. The statement was made that the price of wheat had been forced up to a point where people in the United States were paying more per bushel than the people of England. The Secretary of Agriculture, however, declared authoritatively (Jan. 5) that when wheat was quoted at \$1.44 in Kansas City and \$1.52 in Chicago it sold in Liverpool at \$1.77 gold. When the price rose to \$1.75 in the United States it was 70 cents higher than a year ago.

The disposition of Muscle Shoals, the immense water power which has harnessed the Tennessee River at a point where nearly 100-foot head can be obtained, remained the storm centre in the question of conservation. A sharp issue was made on the bill introduced by Senator Norris of Nebraska for developing the power by keeping its management in the hands of the authorities of the Federal Government. The rival



Underwood bill, which provided for leasing the power to a private corporation, had the approval of President Coolidge. In a test vote (Jan. 8) the Underwood plan prevailed by 48 to 37 votes. Senator Underwood (Democrat) was attacked by certain newspapers for alleged secret communications with President Coolidge. By a unanimous vote (Dec. 19) the Senate had held that there was no ground for such criticism. If no satisfactory arrangement was made by Sept. 1, 1925, the Government planned to carry the project on for the manufacture of nitrate both for fertilizers and for war materials.

#### TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

The advent and continuance of general prosperity threw upon the railroads the heaviest freight business ever known in time of peace; and betterments of the trackage and increase of rolling stock made it possible to move this enormous tonnage with reasonable quickness. On the other hand, the Boston & Maine and New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroads asked permission to abandon 1,200 miles of branch and parallel lines on which the business was very small. The Boston & Maine declared that from an aggregate mileage of about 1,000 miles only 4 per cent. of the road's business was derived. They proposed to drop out some lines altogether and to put on a motor bus and truck service of their own to replace other lines. The railroads from time to time ask permission to raise freight rates; examiners sent out by the Interstate Commerce Commission to the Southwest, however, found many unreasonable tariffs and suggested revision of the whole structure.

Very large capital investments in automobile highways have been made out of public taxation. Some States meet a part of this expense by a specific tax upon automobiles or upon gasoline. In others the burden falls on real estate. The United States Supreme Court recently decided against a railroad company in Arkansas which

refused to pay road taxes on the ground that it was not beneficial to them.

Traffic is supervised in all large cities, but there is little effective regulation of speeds or maximum loads or wheelbase loads on country roads. Secretary of Commerce Hoover stated that traffic accidents in the United States in 1924 caused 23,600 deaths and 678,000 serious personal injuries. In New York City Mayor Hylan appointed a special commission on improvement of traffic conditions (Dec. 22).

An interesting case involving the use of foreign shipping was passed on by Attorney General Stone (Jan. 1). The steamship *Voltaire*, British registry, was chartered last Summer by the Philadelphia Lodge of Elks to carry them to the national convention of their order in Boston. In theory the passengers bought tickets from Philadelphia to Halifax, with a stopover in Boston. Actually the vessel lay in the harbor and was used for lodgings by the passengers. In view of this fact the journey from the American port of Philadelphia to another American port, Boston, was held by the Department of Commerce to be contrary to the statutes forbidding foreign vessels to engage in the coasting trade and the company was fined \$110,400.

New subways were reported to be under construction in Philadelphia and Cleveland. The Secretary of War recently consented to the erection of a bridge from Oakland across the harbor to San Francisco. In New York the question of transit has become acute because of the crowding of the existing lines. For about seven years a struggle has gone on between the State Government and the City Government; or rather between the State Commission, deriving its authority from the Legislature, and Mayor Hylan. All the plans of the State board were made subject to approval by the City Government, and that approval was steadily refused on every plan that was brought forward. Under the constitutional system of home rule for the City of New York, Mayor Hylan contended and contends that any

new subways must be built by the city on the credit of the city and be carried on as a function of the city, and all on a five-cent fare.

This controversy was brought to a head by Governor Smith's appointment of Judge McAvoy to hold an investigation to determine upon whom rested the responsibility for the delay in construction. It appeared that Mayor Hylan's plan would require the enlargement of the debt limit of the city to allow a loan of \$275,000,000. Mayor Hylan accused the commission of failing to put pressure on the companies to buy sufficient cars and station accommodations. The companies answered that they had been unable to put on sufficient cars because of the lack of shops, which the city was slow to authorize.

The Federal Government is vitally interested in a great problem of transportation, namely, the Post Office. Pressure for increasing the wages of postal employes resulted in a bill which passed both Houses in December. It was vetoed by President Coolidge on the ground that the bill did not provide any source from which this additional expense was to be met; and lacked one vote of being passed over the veto by the Senate. Hence a new bill, reported by Postmaster General New, was brought in, providing for the raising of rates by an aggregate of \$68,000,000. The figures furnished by the Post Office Department showed that first class mail paid a profit of about \$60,000,000, while second class mail, which includes newspapers and magazines, caused a loss of about the same amount. Hence the bill proposed to raise the rates on the second class matter. This aroused a storm of protest from the farm papers and book publishers, as well as from the International Typographical Union and the Newspaper Publishers' Association, which declared that the deficit in the Post Office was caused by rural delivery. It was also complained that many publishers were making use of other agencies for delivering their output.

These protests led to an important

alteration in the bill, by which certain religious and scientific publications, which had heretofore been placed on a special footing, were reduced to the common charge, and relatively small additions were made to the second class rates. It was expected that a new bill for postal salaries would be presented, backed up by some increase of rates.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

On the question of world peace, strong pressure has been brought by the peace organizations, by many members of Congress, headed by Representative Hamilton Fish of New York and especially by Senator Borah, to enter the existing World Court. In a speech in Philadelphia (Dec. 17) Senator Borah laid down as the three essentials of world peace: (1) Creation of a body of international law; (2) Establishment of a court to decide and determine all controversies involving construction of international law or treaties; (3) The said body of international law shall declare war a crime.

A notable recent event was the address of President Alderman of the University of Virginia before the House of Representatives on the occasion of a Woodrow Wilson service held at the Capitol (Dec. 15). In his address President Alderman recalled the historic speeches made during the World War by Woodrow Wilson from the same platform, and he declared that President Wilson had returned home from Paris not vanquished but virtually victorious.

#### IMMIGRATION AND LABOR

Secretary of Labor Davis returned late in December from a trip to South America, made in the interests of immigration reform. The Secretary's itinerary included most of the leading nations of South America. During his travels he encountered a number of English-speaking men who formerly lived in the United States, and who were anxious to return. The Secretary learned that the quota system of im-



migration necessarily involved hardship to would-be immigrants. It appeared that 7,000 persons who had reached foreign ports and obtained American visas before last July were still waiting for admission under the quotas of their respective countries.

Meanwhile the inflow of immigrants from non-quota States continued. It was ascertained that a system had been set up by which European immigrants were illegally enabled to enter the United States through Canada. The immigration authorities pointed out that the immigration for the fiscal year 1923-4 appeared to have been 414,000 from the quota countries and 465,000 from American countries. In addition, several hundred thousand entered from Canada and Mexico without reporting to immigration authorities. Large bodies of Mexicans were alleged to have been brought in by railroads and other employers of unskilled labor.

In labor circles the notable event of the month was the election (Dec. 19) of William Green as President of the American Federation of Labor. Green announced (Dec. 30) as part of his general policy a plan to organize the Southern mine workers. He said:

We shall oppose with all the power we possess legalized compulsory arbitration, the abuse of the writ of injunction in labor disputes, the restriction of the legitimate exercise of our rights and the curtailment of our inalienable rights.

In general, employment conditions appeared good. This, however, did not apply to New England. After a long strike the cotton mill operatives of Fall River, Mass., found themselves compelled to submit to a reduction of 10 per cent., and the New Bedford mills at once announced a similar cut. The strike of the watchmakers of Waltham, Mass., was also settled by their accepting a reduction of wages.

Notwithstanding the nation-wide indignation at the peonage conditions of convicts in Florida, the same practices were again discovered in several counties. Turpentine and other operators were still allowed to pay the fines of

county prisoners and then to carry them off to a service differing little from slavery. Whipping and other tortures were the usual methods of discipline employed.

#### LAW AND ORDER

The Department of Justice on the last day of the year 1924 gave out a statement showing that in the course of twelve months 20,000 Federal cases and 46,000 criminal prohibition cases had been disposed of. Some doubt remained as to whether total crime was increasing or diminishing. Deaths and blindness and other effects of poisonous liquor were unquestionably on the increase. On prohibition enforcement during the past four years the Federal Government spent about \$26,000,000, this sum being exclusive of the cost of the Coast Guard.

A conspiracy between lawbreakers and officers of the law was unearthed in several communities on the New Jersey side of the Hudson River, particularly in Weehawken, where the Mayor and Township Committee were under suspicion of bribery by bootleggers. Breaches of the law in Hudson County, New Jersey, were flagrant and notorious. Assistant Attorney Van Riper was removed by Attorney General Stone on the strong representations of Assistant Attorney General Mrs. Willebrandt. Senator Edge of New Jersey strenuously defended Mr. Van Riper and made numerous public statements attesting his belief in the honesty of this official.

Dramatic in the extreme was the retirement from office of Governor Jonathan M. Davis of Kansas on Jan. 12. The retiring Governor was arrested by the county authorities on the morning of this day, together with his son, on the charge that they had accepted a bribe in return for a pardon for Fred W. Pollman, paroled forger and bank wrecker. The Governor, when he relinquished his office to Ben S. Paulen, the new Republican Governor, chosen at the November election, was under the stigma of arrest. Before an audience of 8,000 people at noon, one hour after

answering to the charges in court, the former Governor delivered a farewell address, in which he vehemently asserted his innocence and charged that his arrest was due to the machinations of his enemies.

#### SOCIAL AND SCIENTIFIC EVENTS

Meyer London, former member of Congress, and other leaders advised American Socialists to reject the Russian type of socialism and no longer to "attempt any far-flung internationalism." London urged that "we reform our own country, for which we are in a sense so responsible."

Prosecution by the United States Government of alleged revolutionaries continued. Charles D. Ruthenberg, convicted of violating the Michigan Criminal Syndicalism law, was sentenced at St. Joseph, Mich. (Jan. 5), to ten years in State Prison; a fine of \$5,000 also was imposed. Carlo Tresca, editor of an anti-Fascist magazine, left New York (Jan. 6) for the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, Ga., to begin service of a term of a year and a day for having sent improper matter through the mails.

In religious matters a sign of unity of feeling was the first response to the drive in New York City to raise \$15,000,000 for the completion of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. Persons of various denominations united in contributing to the funds.

The Board of Trinity College, North Carolina, unanimously accepted the donation of \$6,000,000 offered by James B. Duke to transform their institution into Duke University. The gift of Mr. Eastman to Rochester University and other educational institutions proved to be in value about twice the amount of \$15,000,000, which is the face value of the securities.

University news of another kind came from Kansas, where (Dec. 27) Governor Davis summarily removed E. H. Lindley as Chancellor of the University of Kansas.

#### NATIONAL DEFENSE

The pending Army Appropriation bill, it was announced on Jan. 2, would

call for expenditure of \$331,000,000, including \$30,000,000 for rivers and harbors, and provide for 12,000 officers and 125,000 enlisted men. The Naval Supply bill carried about \$300,000,000, which provided for about 7,000 naval officers and 86,000 enlisted men. Several controversies arose with regard to the navy. Representative Britten, the leading supporter of a larger navy, sought to add \$101,000,000 for new construction. Another proposition called for the elevation of the guns of ships in service, thus increasing their range and power. President Coolidge's opposition to both these measures was communicated to the House Naval Affairs Committee on Jan. 8 and it was announced on Jan. 9 that neither would be urged in this Congress. The President's stand on this question was approved by Chairman Borah of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Jan. 10. Presenting the bill to the Senate (Jan. 7), the Appropriations Committee accompanied the measure with a report denying that the American Navy had fallen below the 5-5-3 ratio; the report added that the "country need not be alarmed" by recent rumors regarding the alleged inadequacy of the navy.

There was a continuation of the campaign to unite the military and naval air services into one organization, against which proposal both Secretary of War Weeks and Secretary of the Navy Wilbur had previously put themselves on record. General Patrick, head of the Army Air Service, held that the country was now unprotected from a possible attack in force. Distribution of the 600,000 certificates for adjusted compensation, on the basis of the Bonus bill, continued through January in spite of the effort of a committee of taxpayers to secure an injunction from the United States courts on the ground that the bonus was a gift and that Congress had no authority to make gifts. Justice McCoy of the District Court refused to grant such an injunction, and proceedings then were carried to the United States Supreme Court.



# Mexico and Central America

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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MEXICO entered upon the year 1925 with difficult financial problems directly affecting the entire program of the new Labor Government of President Plutarco Elias Calles. Within two weeks after his inauguration, on Nov. 30, the Mexican Congress, owing to lack of time to conclude the budget discussions in the Chamber of Deputies before the expiration of the Congressional session on Dec. 31, granted to President Calles extraordinary powers with respect to financial matters from Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1925, with the proviso that at the opening of the new regular session of the Mexican Congress on Aug. 31, 1925, he was to submit to Congress a detailed financial report. Following close upon the granting of these extraordinary financial powers, Arturo M. Elias, Mexican Financial Agent in New York City, notified J. L. Arlitt on Dec. 20 that the contract of Sept. 20, 1924, by which the Mexican Government authorized him to offer \$50,000,000 United States of Mexico 6 per cent. external loan oil-production tax bonds, had been rescinded by the Mexican Government for failure on the part of Mr. Arlitt to comply with the terms and conditions of the contract. Specifically, Mr. Arlitt was alleged to have failed, first, to furnish a stipulated guaranty bond of \$100,000, and, second, to "have delayed unreasonably beyond the terms fixed by the contract for delivery of the bonds" to the Mexican Financial Agency in New York City. Notice was given that no further extension of time could be accorded to Mr. Arlitt, in view of the fact that the Mexican Government "is making every effort to accomplish its purpose by introducing in every branch of its Administration the maximum economies compatible with the maintenance of the indispensable public services," as a result

of which it expected "shortly to be able to meet its requirements from its own Federal fiscal resources."

The failure of the proposed bond issue sponsored by Mr. Arlitt resulted in Mexico's inability to pay any part of the 1924 interest, totaling \$17,500,000, on an external debt of approximately \$700,000,000. Since June 30, 1924, Mexico has been in arrears on the first semi-annual interest payment due for 1924, namely, \$8,750,000; the second payment, of an equal amount, was due on Dec. 31. Complete suspension of service by the Mexican Government on this external debt for 1924 automatically threw into the discard the Lamont-de la Huerta Mexican debt readjustment agreement of 1922, after it had been operative only one year, namely, until 1923, when \$15,000,000 of interest, as provided for in the 1922 agreement, was paid on the Mexican external debt.

It was reported from Mexico City on Dec. 25 that President Calles had promised a \$50,000,000, or a 30 per cent., reduction in the expenses of the Federal Government for 1925, and had stated that the Government would not only meet all its expenses but would also pay the interest on its external debt. On Christmas Day all Government offices, including that of the President, were kept open by order of President Calles, and a Presidential decree on that day ordered a cut in the number of holidays, theretofore totaling approximately fifty each year, for Government employes. Henceforth they will be required to work on all religious holidays and will be allowed only four national holidays a year.

At his first interview granted to foreign newspaper correspondents, President Calles on Dec. 27 stated that Mexico's most urgent problem was economic and that the balancing of the national



Chapultepec Castle, the official residence of the Mexican President, two miles from Mexico City. The building shown on Page 443 of the December issue of this magazine should have been described as the Casa de Lago (Lake House), which is used as the administration building for Chapultepec Park

budget, which would constitute the principal effort of his Government "during the first months and possibly during the first year," was "the most vital essential." He expressed the conviction that the reduction of expenses "without injuring the public service," the elimination of graft, and the strict supervision of public funds would bring about a balance in the Treasury. The Government, he stated, "has no intention to seek outside sources for a loan." Having established economic stability, President Calles promised to "apply constructive plans for social reform, which is the aim of our Government." He said that his educational program, which included the supplying of agricultural machinery and instruction for farmers, was intended to reach the most remote corners of Mexico and was to include the Indians, who have hitherto enjoyed few educational facilities. Referring to the army, President Calles promised to "eliminate systematically those functions which at times it has been forced to perform, such as being the instruments of local impositions and as a police protector of immoral Governors," and to "elevate" it and "dignify" it "by carrying into the army the same elevation of morale as we propose for the executive offices by a weeding-out process which will raise the prestige of the

organization and satisfy the pride of the officers."

It was reported from Mexico City on Dec. 29 that the Government had started to reduce the army from 68,000 to 50,000 men and that plans called for the reduction of the army ultimately to 10,000 men, supported by armed civilians who would receive three months' training in concentration camps. The economy program of President Calles was reported on Dec. 29 to be meeting with the marked approval of merchants and business interests of the Mexican capital. A merchants' loan to the Government of 2,000,000 pesos (\$1,000,000) was announced, with the statement that it would be applied to back salaries for Government employes. Owing to poor business conditions the merchants were unable to fund an additional loan representing advance taxes for the next two years.

The Mexican Foreign Office on Dec. 29 announced the appointment as Ambassador to the United States of Manuel C. Tellez, who for the past four years has served as Chargé d'Affaires at the Mexican Embassy in Washington. Arturo M. Elias, half-brother of President Calles, succeeded Alberto Mascarenas early in December as Mexican Consul General and Financial Agent in New York City. Señor Mascarenas was ap-



pointed Assistant Secretary of the Treasury by President Calles.

The United States Senate on Jan. 10 confirmed the appointment of James R. Sheffield as Ambassador to Mexico.

The United States Circuit Court of Appeals in New York City on Dec. 15 affirmed a decision of the United States District Court vacating an attachment and dismissing a suit of the Oliver American Trading Company, Inc., against the Mexican Government and the National Railways of Mexico for \$1,164,348.94 for damages resulting from an alleged breach of contract. The contention of the defense was upheld, namely, that the Government of Mexico "as an independent and sovereign nation" was immune from process in courts except upon its own consent.

Rivalries and tong warfare resulted in the deportation by the Mexican Government of 200 Chinese from Sonora, Sinaloa and Lower California prior to Dec. 18. Protests of the Chinese Minister in Mexico were futile. A Japanese school fleet of three vessels was welcomed by Government officials upon its arrival at Acapulco on Dec. 20, 1924. Cadets from the fleet left that day for a visit to Mexico City, going by way of Guadalajara.

The invalidity in Mexico of divorces secured in Yucatan was formally decreed by the Mexican Minister of the Interior on Dec. 24.

## Guatemala

**EL EXCELSIOR** of Mexico City early in December published the statement that three departments of the Republic of Guatemala, namely, Peten, Quetzaltenango and Los Altos, discontented because of backward means of communication and because of alleged lack of interest taken in them by the Republican Government at Guatemala City, were attempting to secede and join the Mexican Federation. The Guatemalan Government, in a cablegram (made public on Dec. 21, 1924) to the Guatemalan Minister to the United States, Sánchez Latour, characterized the re-

ports "that there is agitation in Los Altos and Peten favoring secession" as "malicious" and as being "absolutely false and without any foundation whatever." In an article in the Mexico City *Revista de Revistas* of Dec. 28, Luis Espinosa, a native of Chiapas, severely arraigns the past governments of Mexico for their neglect of Chiapas, particularly their disregard for promoting the welfare of the State and their failure to improve its means of communication since it seceded from Guatemala and joined the Mexican Federation 100 years ago.

## Honduras

**THE** United States Department of State on Dec. 17 was advised by Chargé d'Affaires Morgan at Tegucigalpa that martial law had been abolished by Executive decree on Dec. 16, that Provisional President Tosta had sent a telegram to the press of Central America offering guarantees to all emigrados desiring to return to Honduras to participate in the elections, and had instructed all local authorities to respect this promise; and that General Tiburcio Carías, former candidate of the National or Conservative Party, and revolutionary leader during the past year, had published announcements from the North Coast that he wished all his friends and supporters to vote for Dr. Miguel Paz Barahona for President.

Presidential elections were held, with complete order prevailing throughout Honduras, Dec. 28-30. From San Salvador it was reported on Dec. 30 that Dr. Paz Barahona and Presentación Quesada, candidates of the National or Conservative Party, had been elected President and Vice President, respectively, of Honduras. In the heated Presidential campaign of 1923-1924 Dr. Paz Barahona was the candidate for Vice President on the Conservative ticket, which was headed by General Carías, candidate for President. On Jan. 29, 1924, when the Honduras Congress was apparently hopelessly deadlocked over the election of a President from the

three active candidates, General Carias, Dr. Angel Arias and Dr. Policarpo Bonilla—the two last named being Liberals—the Carias and Arias factions in Congress fused under the Paz Barahona plan. By this agreement General Carias and Dr. Arias were to withdraw as Presidential candidates and each was to throw his support to Dr. Paz Barahona, who, after having been installed as President, was to distribute political preferments equally among Carias and Arias supporters. The agreement was repudiated by General Carias, however, on the night of Jan. 30, and as a result Honduras was plunged into the first of its two disastrous civil wars of 1924.

## Panama

SINCE the inauguration of President Chiari, on Oct. 1, the Panaman National Assembly has ratified the Treaty of St. Germain, thereby formally ending the "state of war" between Panamá and Austria.

President Chiari on Dec. 20 announced that he would not accept reelection at the end of his term. He promised to make an intensive campaign for economy, but declared that he would protect fully public works and public instruction.

## Nicaragua

AT a joint session of the Nicaraguan Congress on Jan. 1 Carlos Solórzano, a retired capitalist, 59 years of age, was inaugurated President of Nicaragua for a four-year term. The inauguration took place before the Congress and a large throng of diplomats and eminent persons of the republic. President Solórzano expressed the hope that the United States would continue its support of his country.

As a result of recently announced plans of the United States Government to withdraw in January the force of 100 marines stationed at Managua as a legation guard since 1912, the United States and Nicaraguan Governments accepted in principle a plan for the establish-

ment of a native constabulary to be trained by American officers as a substitute for the marines. Active participation of the United States Government was to be deferred pending authorization from Congress for the use of American officers in the Nicaraguan constabulary. Selected officers of the Nicaraguan services were under the instruction of marine officers attached to the legation guard at Managua.

## Cuba

A MONUMENT to Colonel Theodore Roosevelt as commander of the Rough Riders in the Spanish-American War was unveiled at Santiago de Cuba on Dec. 14 on a site leading to San Juan Hill, the scene during the war of the most daring exploits of Colonel Roosevelt's Rough Riders. The monument, which was unveiled by the widow of the late Colonel Roosevelt, was sponsored by the Rotary Club of Santiago, the Rough Riders' Association and the Roosevelt Memorial Association, but the unveiling ceremony assumed an official and international character. Major Gen. James G. Harbord, U. S. A., retired, who made the principal address, was the personal representative of President Coolidge. American Ambassador to Cuba, Enoch H. Crowder, and members of his staff, many officials of the Cuban Government, United States Army officers, naval officers from the United States cruiser Galveston, who had been ordered to Santiago for the occasion, and officials of Oriente Province, headed by Governor Barcelo, attended the unveiling ceremony. A detachment of Cuban cavalry acted as a guard of honor.

Striking sugar mill workers on Dec. 11 accepted in principle the basis for ending the strike which was proposed by President Zayas. The mills had previously accepted the proposal.

The New York end of a \$1,000,000 cable between New York and Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, was brought ashore on Dec. 27.



# South America

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

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**A** REVIEW of the year 1924 in South America would reveal two outstanding events — serious political disturbances in Chile and Brazil and a marked economic improvement throughout the continent as the year progressed.

President Alessandri of Chile was forced to resign his office early in September, 1924, and the Government has since been in the hands of the Military Party. The overthrow of the civil government was accomplished without bloodshed. A revolution in Sao Paulo, Brazil, began on July 6, 1924, and had not, by the close of the year, been entirely quelled. Its political consequences were less severe than those of the Chilean coup, since the established Government was maintained in Brazil. Some 3,000 people, however, were killed in the Sao Paulo revolt and damage to the extent of \$10,000,000 was done in and around that city in the month of July.

The gradual improvement in South American economic conditions which began in 1923 continued through 1924. Reviving European markets afforded good prices for native-grown products. The resultant increase in the purchasing power of the people brought about a rise in the standard of living and improvement in the exchange quotations in most of the South American countries. American sales in 1924 to all Latin America were about 10½ per cent. greater than in 1923, while American purchases of Latin-American products increased little, owing to the high prices offered by Europe.

## Argentina

**I**NCREASING prosperity marked the closing of the year 1924 in Argentina, in spite of reduction of crop yields by drought and locusts. The strike of

the maritime workers temporarily paralyzed river traffic. When the trouble ended with the defeat of the Maritime Labor Federation, the effect on the general labor situation was salutary. Declining immigration retarded agricultural development during the year, but a new land settlement project, making more attractive terms to settlers, was recently placed before the Legislature.

The conflict between Church and State which existed in Argentina for some months past took a sensational turn on Dec. 21, 1924, when the Government made public an opinion of the Argentine Attorney General, Señor Larreta, to the effect that Mgr. Juan Boneo, Bishop of Santa Fé, was liable to punishment under the penal code for his refusal to submit for Government approval the credentials of Pope Pius, naming him apostolic administrator of the Archdiocese of Buenos Aires. Mgr. Boneo, who is an Argentine citizen, had answered Foreign Minister Gallardo's demand for his credentials by declaring that no Argentine law or provision of the Constitution required the Pope's nominations to be submitted to the Government. The contrary opinion was based on the grant of the right of apostolic appointments to the King of Spain in 1508, which, the Attorney General contended, descended to the Argentine Republic when that country became independent, a century ago.

Under the Argentine Constitution Roman Catholicism is the State religion and is regularly supported by appropriations from the Federal Treasury. In return for this support the Government received the right to name the Archbishop of Buenos Aires and the several suffragan Bishops, as well as the canons of the cathedrals throughout the country. The Vatican usually confirms these appointments as a matter of

form. In nominating candidates for the Archbishopric the Senate selects one candidate and two alternates; the names are sent to the President, who transmits them to Rome. Usually the first on the list receives the vacant See. Last March the Senate chose three candidates, naming, first, Mgr. Michele de Andreas, rector of one of the most fashionable churches of the capital. He did not receive the appointment, but was afterward made Apostolic Delegate to all South America. The continued insistence of President Alvear on the appointment of Mgr. de Andreas as Archbishop culminated in the recall of the Argentine Minister at the Vatican and in a vote at a stormy meeting of the Senate favoring the expulsion of the Papal Nuncio from Argentina. Bishop Boneo, on Dec. 27, submitted to Foreign Minister Gallardo for the Government's approval the pontifical documents accrediting him as Apostolic Administrator of the Archdiocese of Buenos Aires. This appeared to have closed the incident and forestalled a break with the Holy See.

Argentina, on Dec. 31, registered with the League of Nations her general treaty on arbitration with Switzerland, which was signed Nov. 17, 1924, in Buenos Aires. A convention negotiated between Argentina and Belgium on Oct. 22, for reciprocity in gratuitous medical service to be accorded citizens of the respective countries, was also registered. The registration of these agreements fulfilled the obligation imposed by Article 18 of the Covenant of the League, and was interpreted in Geneva as further evidence that Argentina was again an active member of the League of Nations.

In a recent report Dr. Le Breton, Argentine Minister of Agriculture, urged prompt legislation in the interest of agriculture. He also pointed out the necessity for the encouragement of immigration, explaining that as living conditions had materially improved in all countries from which immigrants formerly came, it was now necessary to offer more advantageous terms to set-

tlers in order to attract a desirable class. In the last ten years, Dr. Le Breton showed 881,632 immigrants entered the country, but 774,669 left. This meagre increase in population through immigration aroused concern, as there seemed to be no immediate remedy in sight. The report further called attention to the actual decrease in the area under cultivation. Unfavorable comparison was made with Canada, which twenty years ago had a wheat acreage 50 per cent. less than Argentina, whereas it now has 50 per cent. more. Dr. Le Breton attributed the country's failure to advance in agricultural lines to a faulty system of colonization.

The emancipation of women in Latin America from the traditions that have kept them from earning their living like men continued to make progress. Fifty women were appointed to the police force of Buenos Aires at the beginning of the new year. They were assigned to patrol duty in the parks. Women have been employed as street car conductors for some years past both in Argentina and in Chile.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Indian poet and philosopher, left on Jan. 3 for his home, after a two months' sojourn in Argentina. His stay there had been prolonged by a serious illness, which compelled the cancellation of a lecture tour through the larger States of South America.

## Brazil

THE Brazilian economic situation during 1924 was marked by a considerable gain in foreign trade and an improvement in the rate of exchange, despite temporary political disturbances and serious port congestion at Santos and to a lesser degree at Rio de Janeiro. Increases in the value of exports were due largely to higher coffee prices. An abnormal increase in the cost of living was registered during the year, notwithstanding efforts on the part of the Federal and State authorities to combat it. Political disturbance the latter part of the year was negligible,



and on Dec. 14 the state of siege in Sao Paulo was lifted. This area had been under martial law since the first week in July. Small bands of rebels were still operating in the State of Rio Grande do Sul during the month under review. Dispatches from the Uruguayan border stated on Dec. 14 that 600 Brazilian revolutionists had abandoned their arms and crossed into Uruguay. This group, under the command of Generals Honorio Lemos and Zeocanetto, dispersed at the request of Uruguayan authorities.

Senhor Annibal Freire, Deputy from Pernambuco, became Minister of Finance in Brazil on Jan. 1. Dr. Sampaio Vidal, who formerly held that portfolio, and Senhor Cincinata Bragda, President of the Banco do Brasil, resigned their posts at the close of the year. Dissatisfaction with the changes in the Government's bank policy was advanced as the reason for these resignations.

Two questions of international import attracted attention to Brazil during the past month—immigration and the price of coffee. The Japanese press continued to be stirred by the recent legislation in Brazil restricting the entrance of Japanese. The restriction was viewed as a distinct effort at gradual exclusion of the Oriental, while it offered special inducements to European immigrants. Japanese opponents of the restriction pointed out that in June, 1923, there were only 39,249 Japanese in Brazil, while more than a million immigrants each from Italy and Portugal were resident there at that time.

Coffee prices were unusually high and had been unstable for some time past. Because of this, a delegation of the National Coffee Roasters Association of the United States proposed to Secretary Hoover that our Government attempt to negotiate agreements with Brazil, especially with the State of Sao Paulo, which would steady the coffee market and reduce prices. Dr. William L. Schurz, Commercial Attaché of the United States at Rio de Janeiro since 1921, sailed for Brazil on Dec. 21, after

an extended absence from his post. On resuming his duties Dr. Schurz will confer with Brazilian officials on the problem. J. C. Muniz, Acting Consul General for Brazil in New York, defended the Brazilian coffee policy. He justified coffee valorization and other efforts of the Brazilian Government to maintain coffee prices, since the economic welfare of the country was so dependent on this export.

An Academy of Political and Social Science of Brazil was founded in December, 1924, with President Bernardes as honorary head. Senator Epitacio Pessoa, former President of the republic, was chosen active President of the Academy for life. An official publication of the new organization will appear quarterly.

The budget bill for 1925 failed of passage on Dec. 31, 1924. An extra session of Congress, called in January, concentrated attention on this measure.

## Chile

THE new Cabinet, formed on Dec. 19, 1924, consisted of the following members:

RAFAEL LUIS BARAHONA—Premier and Minister of the Interior.  
CARLOS ALDUNATE SOLAR—Foreign Affairs.  
JULIO PHILLIPPI—Education.  
LAUTARO ROZAS—Finance.  
GENERAL ORTIZ VEGA—War.  
ADMIRAL GOMEZ CARRENO—Navy.  
ARTURO ALEMPARTE—Agriculture.  
ALEXANDRO DEL RIO—Public Health.  
LUIS ADAM MOLINA—Public Works.

The former Cabinet resigned on Dec. 13, following a clash with the military junta over the latter's removal of the head of the military police without consultation with the civil Government.

In a statement regarding the re-establishment of gold currency in Chile on Jan. 1, the Government announced its intention to create a central bank similar to the Federal Reserve system of the United States. Banking laws were to be revised as soon as the new currency system was established. The budget for

1925 was fixed at some 70,700,000 gold pesos and 414,400,000 paper pesos (a gold peso is worth approximately 36 cents and the paper peso 11 cents at the present exchange rates). Estimated revenues for the year left a balance of 57,000 paper pesos in the Treasury. After a careful study of the collection figures for the first eight months of 1924 the Minister of Finance announced late in December that the budget deficit for the year would not exceed 2,500,000 gold pesos and would be wiped out if collections during the last four months of the year continued at the same rate as previous to Sept. 1 last.

Señor Luis Recabarren, Communist leader and first Socialist member of the Chamber of Deputies in Chile, committed suicide on Dec. 19, 1924. He left a note indicating that he was weary of carrying on the battle of life. At the time of his funeral, two days later, traffic was suspended in the capital; 3,000 laborers marched in the procession. Pedro Leon Ugalde, former Radical Deputy, was convicted by a court-martial the day before Christmas of plotting to subvert public order and instigate sedition among the troops. He was sentenced to three years' banishment from the republic.

At a meeting in London on Jan. 2 of the directors of the Anglo-Chilean Nitrate and Railway Company a resolution was unanimously passed approving the agreement with the Guggenheim Brothers of New York whereby that firm undertook to form a company in the United States to purchase the obligations and assets of the Anglo-Chilean company. The Anglo-Chilean Consolidated Nitrate Corporation was incorporated in Delaware, with a capital of \$172,500,000 for this purpose.

## Colombia

A GERMAN commission, consisting of Dr. Antonio Eitel, Dr. Karl Glochner and Dr. A. Decker, and which had been advising the Colombian Government since Sept. 26, 1924, on educational affairs, was invited to modernize the educational system of the republic. An Advisory Council, consisting of three Colombians, headed by Dr. Tomás Vargas y Arrubla, was cooperating with the commission. A commission from the United States in 1923 was so successful in modernizing the banking system that the plan of inviting foreign experts to help handle domestic problems gained favor in Colombia.

## Peru

THE third Pan-American Scientific Congress opened its session in Lima Dec. 20, 1924, under the Presidency of Dr. Alberto Salomon, Foreign Minister of Peru. Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan American Union and President of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, who headed the delegation from the United States, replied to Dr. Salomon's address of welcome. In the course of his reply Dr. Rowe said:

This congress typifies the essential principles of pan-Americanism. In this forum there is no place for any section of the continent. Viewed in this light, this congress is an outward expression of the new epoch in international relations. It demonstrates that basic principle which humanity has been so slow to accept, namely, that the welfare and progress of each nation depend on the prosperity of all the others.

The Government granted to the Peruvian Broadcasting Company a ten-year concession for establishing radio transmission stations throughout the republic.

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# The British Empire

By RALSTON HAYDEN

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## Great Britain

PARLIAMENT adjourned on Dec. 19, 1924, until Feb. 10, 1925, after two votes that showed the strength of the new Government. On Dec. 15 the Labor amendment to the address from the throne condemning the Government's Egyptian and Russian policies was defeated in the House of Commons by 363 to 132 votes, and two days later the Liberal amendment, which characterized the Government's imperial preference policy as dishonest, was lost by 339 votes to 151. The Liberal amendment was in reply to the Prime Minister's explanation of the Government's tariff policy. Mr. Baldwin informed the House that it was intended to extend the existing Safeguarding Industries act to all substantial and efficient British industries except those producing food. Bills were, he said, to be introduced entitling any such industry to protection against exceptional foreign competition arising from such conditions in foreign countries as depreciated currency, bounties, subsidies, longer hours of labor, or lower wages. Recognizing that such a program might be attacked as a violation of the Prime Minister's election pledge not to introduce a "general tariff," Winston Churchill, Chancellor of the Exchequer, assured the House that the bill would be drawn with the greatest care to prevent its becoming a wedge for the introduction of such a measure. Coupled with the proposed extension of the Safeguarding Industries act was a Government plan for stimulating the importation of food supplies from other parts of the empire by a subsidy of £1,000,000 to be used for improving transport and storage facilities and for other means of increasing the British consumption of imperial food products in

preference to imports from foreign countries. Preference was also to be given to the dominions by reductions in their favor in import duties on food products already taxed, especially sugar and tea. The Conservative tariff program was received with a certain satisfaction by Liberal leaders, who declared that opposition to it was a major policy upon which all members of the party could unite.

In response to inquiries made by Lloyd George concerning negotiations between France and the United States regarding payment of the French debt, Mr. Churchill on Dec. 10 made an important statement concerning Great Britain's position with reference to inter-allied war debts. The Chancellor of the Exchequer declared, "that any payments made by our debtors in Europe to their creditors in the United States should be accompanied simultaneously and *pari passu* by proportionate payments to Great Britain." He added that Great Britain still adhered to the Balfour offer of 1920, namely, "to obliterate all debts owing to us if we are similarly treated by others with respect to debts owing them," and, if this were impossible, then to "ask from Europe as much as and no more than the United States might find it necessary to require from us." Regarding the British debt settlement with the United States, which had been brought about by the present Prime Minister when he was the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Churchill admitted that there had been "different views," but added: "A settlement has been made. It forms the starting point of all future discussions in the field of interallied debts."

The result of the polling in the by-election at Dundee to fill the vacancy caused by the death of E. D. Morel was declared on Dec. 22 as follows: T. John-

ston (Labor), 22,973; E. D. Simon (Liberal), 10,234; majority, 12,739. The same day Ramsay MacDonald, the Labor leader, left England on a visit to Jamaica.

In the economic field the most important development of the month was demand for increased remuneration and improved conditions of employment for 650,000 railway workers, which was made by the National Union of Railwaymen. The railway companies estimated that it would cost £30,000,000 annually to meet the proposed wage, time and pension schedules, while the union estimated the additional expense involved at from £10,000,000 to £15,000,000. The companies declared that the increase demanded would consume practically their entire net earnings and necessitate a corresponding increase in rates. The coal, steel, iron and engineering industries insisted that business was already seriously handicapped by high transportation charges, and that further increases were impossible. In accordance with British law, the program was first to be discussed by representatives of the companies and of the union before being referred to the Central Wages Board and, if not agreed to, to the National Wages Board.

Meanwhile, England was cheered by a decided decrease in unemployment, although somewhat alarmed by the continued increase in the cost of living. On Dec. 15 the total number of unemployed registered was 1,158,500, or 23,688 less than on Dec. 8 and 127,123 less than at the end of 1923. The decrease had been going on for about six weeks. On the other hand, The Economist's December index number of wholesale prices reached the highest point since 1921.

A significant aspect of the foreign trade of Great Britain was disclosed by the position of British exports with respect to total world export trade. Great Britain's export trade amounted to 13.8 per cent. of the value of the total for the world in 1912. The figures for the years 1920, 1921 and 1922 show that Great Britain's percentage of the total

export trade, as compared with that of 1912, had risen instead of falling, attaining the percentages of 18.1 per cent., 16.2 per cent. and 17.3 per cent., respectively, for these years. In other words, the decline which has taken place in the volume of Great Britain's trade has been to an important degree the result of a world problem, and the reduction in the volume of total world trade has been relatively greater than the decline in British trade. British exports in 1923 were 74.5 per cent. of those of 1913, while imports were 93 per cent. of the imports of the earlier year.

An interesting step in the gradual development of a new set of relationships between Great Britain and the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire was announced by Colonel Amery, Colonial Secretary, in an address delivered on Dec. 18. After mentioning some of the immunities enjoyed by foreign diplomats accredited to the Court of St. James's, such as the privilege of keeping personal motor cars, guns or menservants without license, Colonel Amery declared that in the future the High Commissioners of the component parts of the empire were "to be treated in the matter of these personal concessions in every respect on the same footing as Ministers" from foreign countries. Referring to the situation created by the recent British protest against the registration with the League of Nations of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921, the Colonial Secretary declared: "The outside world will gradually have to learn that the British Empire is both a league of free and independent nations and an indivisible unit."

## Ireland

**H**ISTORICALLY the most interesting event of the month in Ireland was the failure of The Freeman's Journal of Dublin. On Dec. 19, 1924, appeared the last issue of this famous paper, founded 161 years ago by Lucas, Grattan and Flood, and depended upon during Ireland's long



struggle for freedom by O'Connell, Parnell, Davitt, Redmond, Dillon and many another patriot.

The Free State Government announced on Dec. 29 the dismissal from the army of twenty-five non-commissioned officers and sixteen men, the virtual cashiering of two majors and the discharge of a number of civil servants. Dispatches stated that all these persons were suspected of conspiring to put unconstitutional pressure upon the Government, the implication being that a mutiny in behalf of "a more Irish policy" was being planned.

## Canada

IMMIGRATION continued to be one of the chief concerns of the people and Government of Canada. In a report issued on Dec. 30 by the Department of Immigration and Colonization it was stated that 121,685 immigrants were admitted into the Dominion during the eleven months ended Nov. 30, 1924, a decrease of 9,046 from the number admitted during the corresponding period in 1923. Of the immigrants, 15,587 were from the United States, 56,923 from Great Britain and 49,173 from other countries. Announcement was made that although no sailings would be permitted before March, more than 600 applications had been received under the agreement with the Imperial Government whereby Great Britain undertook to lend assistance to 3,000 approved British families taking up farms in Canada. Speaking in Montreal on Dec. 8, Premier Greenfield of Alberta declared that the solution of the colonization problem in Western Canada lay in thickening the population in already settled areas. Co-operation between the Empire Settlement Board and the Canadian Department of Immigration, backed by all the business interests of the Dominion, would bring valuable immigrants from England and provide them with farm loans up to \$2,500, the amount considered necessary for a fair chance of success in the agricultural field. The

Legislature of British Columbia voted \$22,000 for the preliminary assistance of the settlers from the Hebrides who were expected to arrive in the Spring for settlement on the West Coast of Vancouver. Each immigrant would have a credit of \$600 from Imperial and Provincial grants to tide over the period until fishing produces an income.

The Dominion Government by Order-in-Council on Dec. 25 ordered the reimposition within fifteen days of the freight rates to Western Canada provided by the Crow's Nest Pass Agreement. The action came as the result of an appeal of the Prairie Provinces from an order of the Board of Railway Commissioners last October permitting the railroads to raise Western freight rates. The original agreement was made in accordance with a provision of the act which provided State aid for the construction of the Western roads in 1897 and stipulated that a certain maximum limit for freight rates should be agreed upon. Five years ago the agreement was suspended on account of the increased operating charges of the roads, but last June it was again put into effect. The decision of the Government was taken to the Supreme Court of Canada for adjudication.

The Legislature of British Columbia on Dec. 18 unanimously voted to request the Canadian Government to secure the abrogation of all international treaties which prevent the Dominion from controlling Oriental immigration.

## Australia

ACCORDING to dispatches from Sydney, dated Dec. 14, the serious strike of waterside workers which paralyzed Australian overseas shipping was settled at a conference called by Prime Minister Bruce. The dispute arose between the union and the overseas shipping companies on the question of abolishing the Shipping Labor Bureau which had been established in Sydney in 1917 for the purpose of protecting strike-breakers who were employed during the

industrial upheaval of that year. Following a judgment of the Commonwealth High Court before the recent strike the permanent loyalist workers, as the original strikebreakers were called, were discharged and the bureau carried out the duties of employing ex-soldiers in accordance with the law, giving them preference in employment. The important feature of the settlement was that the union—the Waterside Workers' Federation—agreed to admit all ex-soldiers permanently employed by the bureau and that preference in future was to be given only to ex-soldiers who were members of the union.

Subsequently, however, new difficulties arose and the strike broke out anew with the Seamen's Union taking a strong stand and bringing about the paralysis of Australian shipping.

## New Zealand

REPRESENTATIVES of the Samoan Faipule (Council of Hereditary Rulers) paid a visit to New Zealand for the purpose of studying Government methods and industries applicable to the Samoan Islands. At a parliamentary luncheon given in honor of the visitors in Wellington, Chief Ioelupe, as representative of the Faipule, expressed the absolute satisfaction of the Samoans with British rule and the New Zealand administration. They desired Samoa to continue under Great Britain with New Zealand as guardian. Ioelupe called attention to the present division of Samoa between the United States and Great Britain, and suggested that the Parliament and the League of Nations might consider whether the division was beneficial to the natives and whether union was possible. [Of the largest Samoan Islands, Savaii and Upolu are under New Zealand mandate, and Tutuila belongs to the United States.]

Sir Francis Bell, Minister of External Affairs, announced on Dec. 15 that the New Zealand Government had been recently asked by the British Government to assume control of the Union

group of islands, and had consented, subject to parliamentary approval. The Union or Tokelau Islands, about 300 miles north of Samoa, are coral atolls and have so far been supervised by a district officer responsible to the High Commissioner in the Western Pacific.

## South Africa

DISPATCHES from Cape Town stated that steps had been taken to ascertain the view of the Imperial Government regarding the incorporation of Bechuanaland and Swaziland into the Union of South Africa. Incorporation was recently requested by a deputation of white settlers from the former territory, while there has long been a feeling in the Transvaal that Swaziland should be united with that province. At present both Protectorates are governed under the authority of the Imperial Government, being administered by Resident Commissioners appointed by the Colonial Office in London. The Act of Union, however, gave the Union Government the right to open the question of the administration of native territories, with a view to their inclusion in the Union. The Swazi and the Bechuana tribes are said to be strongly opposed to passing under the control of the South African Government, and a considerable portion of the English press in the Union urges caution in seeking immediate annexation in the face of this opposition.

Resisting a considerable amount of pressure from supporters who felt entitled to rewards for services to the Nationalist Party, the Prime Minister, General Hertzog, declined to make recommendations for the King's New Year's honor list. The view of the Government was said to be that titles, other than academic distinctions or decorations conferred upon distinguished civil servants for outstanding and definite services to the State, were in conflict with the spirit of the people of South Africa and the principles and policy of the Nationalist Party.

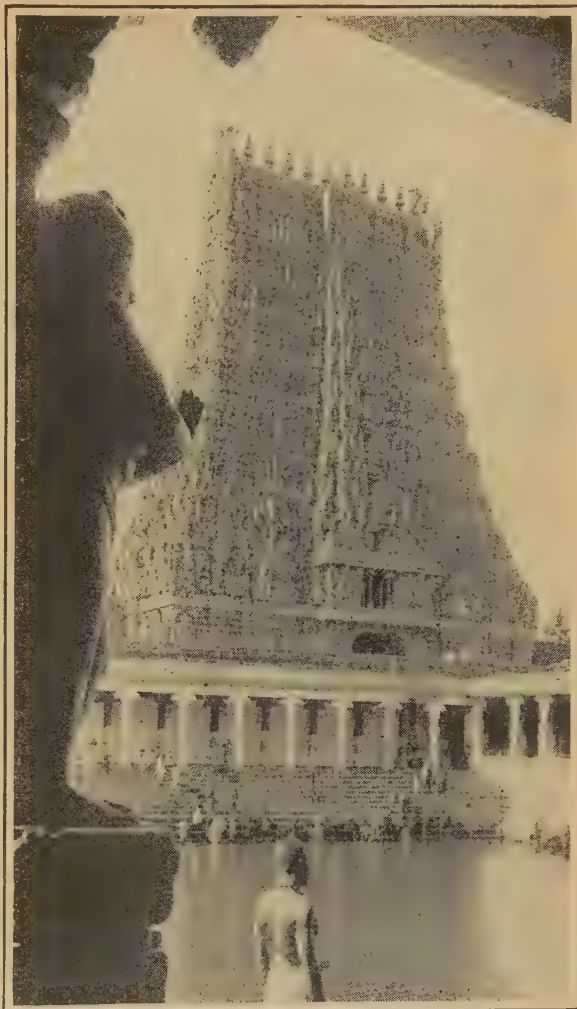


## India

ON Dec. 24 the Executive Committee of the Indian National Congress, by vote of 160 to 19, approved the pact between Mohandas Gandhi, President-elect of the Congress, and the Swarajists (Home Rulers), whereby non-cooperation would be suspended and the Swarajists permitted to sit in the Legislative Assemblies and participate in the activities of the law courts and the schools. Gandhi stipulated as a condition of retaining the Presidency that every member of the Congress must spin 2,000 yards of yarn monthly. Another important meeting was that of the All-India Moslem League, representing the 70,000,000 Indian Mohammedans, which on Dec. 31 adopted a resolution which, though deploring the assassination of Sir Lee Stack, the Egyptian Sirdar, condemned the British reprisals as unwarranted and intended to crush the independence of Egypt.

The Secretary of State for India in Council issued statutory rules and orders making effective the recommendations of the Lee Commission in regard to pay, passages and pensions of members of the Superior Civil Services in India. With the exception of certain services the financial grievances of British officials in India were met, in part, by increasing the "overseas pay"

and providing for a certain number of free passages to Europe. The reforms were intended to make the compensation of Englishmen in the Indian services adequate to meet the increased cost of living in that country.



The Temple of Minarchi at Madura, in the Madras Presidency, India

# France and Belgium

By WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS

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THE Communist agitation which stirred the country shortly before the holiday season spent itself largely in noise. It was asserted by the *Paris Matin* that there were really only about 60,000 regular adherents to the Communist Party in France, and that of these only 15,000 had sufficient zeal to contribute steadily to the party funds. There was, admittedly, a nucleus of fanatics capable of attempting anything, and conspicuous far beyond their numbers, but the chances of their precipitating a "revolution" were declared to be nil; furthermore, it was reported that the Moscow rulers had found the activity of these turbulent admirers very embarrassing, and had urged them to moderate their zeal.

During December M. Herriot suffered from a serious inflammation of the veins in his right leg and was confined to bed for so long a time that his continuance as Premier, in view of the chances of serious ill-health, became a matter for discussion. It was generally held that if he resigned, ex-Premier Paul Painlevé would prove the most acceptable leader to the rather ill-compacted "Left bloc" of Radical Socialists, Republican Socialists and Socialists, which at present controls the majority of the Chamber. M. Herriot's convalescence was not assisted by the vote of the Senate on Dec. 24 when that body deliberately amended the amnesty bill, contrary to the wishes of the Government, so as to exclude from its benefits war deserters, 30,000 of whom were in exile in Spain and Switzerland, and to leave it optional with the railroads to reinstate the workers dropped in the strike of 1920. Ordinarily such an adverse vote would have ruined the Ministry, but on Dec. 26 the Socialists of the Chamber decided to accept the Senate changes and thereby

save the life of a Cabinet which to them was very friendly.

The passing of the old year found M. Herriot engaged in a bitter dispute with almost the entire Paris press over his ordering the prosecution of the *Eclair* for publishing an alleged confidential report by General Nollet upon the failure of Germany to disarm. Even newspapers friendly to M. Herriot criticized his action as "warring against all the traditions of French Republicanism."

The prosecution of the *Eclair* was only one of a number of repressive measures taken recently by the Government and which excited public discussion. The police raided a Paris café on Jan. 7 and found forty-eight armed aliens, all of whom were promptly expelled from the country; the prisoners were Russians, Poles and Germans. At Annecy, on the same day, two bank employes were fined 100 francs each for "attacking the State's credit" by urging farmers to sell their Government bonds and buy other securities.

Criticism of the Administration followed several weeks of rioting and bloodshed at the little Breton fishing village of Douarenez, where a strike of cannery workers had been in progress. A violent clash in which many were hurt occurred at Douarenez on New Year's Day. Subsequently the Government suspended the village's Communist Mayor. Communists and Nationalists participated in further disorders, until on Jan. 6 the Ministry of Labor announced that the strike had been settled.

Two constructive steps taken by the Herriot Government were: first, the establishment at Strasbourg on Jan. 4 of a National School of Petroleum, which aims to establish a technician's petroleum industry, and, secondly, the creation by the Minister of the Colonies, as announced on Jan. 5, of a great game



sanctuary in France's Antarctic possessions; the sanctuary, which will be in charge of the French naval station at Madagascar, will include the islands of Crozet, St. Paul and Amsterdam, Adelie Land and the Antarctic coast.

Political interest during the month centred upon former Premier Caillaux, who on Jan. 6 resumed his status as a free French citizen with all rights. The amnesty law which re-enfranchised Caillaux, was modified by the Senate as above described. It was expected that Caillaux would immediately re-enter politics and seek a seat in the Chamber of Deputies or the Senate.

During December it appeared that the French Government was watching with real anxiety the situation developing in that zone in Morocco which Spain was supposed to occupy as the "guardian of peace and order" in accordance with the agreement of 1912, but which the Spanish troops were lately evacuating with all the signs of a military disaster.

The French were much troubled by fears lest such conditions of tribal disorder arise in the evacuated district as might spread into the French zone and compel French intervention. It was stated that Abd-el-Krim, the leader of resistance to the Spaniards, was himself very friendly to France and an agreement with him could easily be reached. His policy of raising all the local tribes in arms, however, was bound to spread far beyond his control, and make trouble for the whole French section of Morocco.

At the same time a sharp exchange of notes concerning Morocco was understood to have passed between France and Italy. The Rome Government informed Paris that if the French occupied more territory as a consequence of Spanish retirement, Italy must be "compensated" by colonial readjustments in Africa and Asia. It was said that the Herriot Ministry at once took a firm stand against any such suggestion, and cited past agreements, especially the agreement of Italy to let the rest of North Africa alone in return for being given a free hand in Tripoli. The

French memorandum was reported to have suggested that the occupation of the evacuated Spanish zone might become necessary, although very unwelcome, because of the inevitable expense when every national economy was needed.

On Christmas day the dispatches from Paris indicated that high authorities were becoming discouraged over the prospect of establishing really peaceful conditions with Germany, and not simply a prolonged armed truce. Apart from the discovery of military organizations and collections of arms justifying the retention of the Cologne bridgehead, it was stated that the whole attitude of the German people was so menacing that "even the peaceable Premier Herriot has been convinced that there is danger, and takes the stand that he would rather give up the reparations section of the treaty than its disarmament provisions."

The strife over the anti-clerical attitude of the Ministry had been comparatively dormant during November, but in December it flared up again in a somewhat violent manner. In the Chamber M. Herriot and his colleagues charged that the Royalists and the Clericals were deliberately exaggerating the seriousness of the Communist peril in order to divert attention from their own dangerous intrigues. The Catholic demonstrations in Brittany at Quimper and elsewhere "in defence of religious liberty," were followed by great public meetings in other parts of France. On Dec. 15, 15,000 persons assembled at Avignon under the Presidency of no less a personage than General de Castelnau, to adopt a resolution demanding the retention of the French Embassy at the Vatican, respect for the promises made to Alsace-Lorraine, freedom for all religious congregations and the abolition of all laws limiting the rights and freedom of Catholics. At Bordeaux at the same time four Catholic meetings were held simultaneously, and were also attended by a total of about 15,000 people. Here appeals were made by Deputies from many departments addressed

to "public opinion," in order, said the speakers, "that France might be spared domestic strife prejudicial to the dignity and safety of the country."

The commission of the Chamber appointed to deal with the navy, published on Dec. 5 a complete new naval program, calling for the reconstruction of the French fleet at a cost of some 10,000,000,000 francs (approximately \$550,000,000) to be spread over a period of twenty years. The program provided for a high seas fleet of 178,000 tons of battleships as agreed upon by the Washington treaty, 360,000 tons of cruisers and destroyers, 65,000 of submarines and 150,000 tons of special craft such as seaplane carriers, tankers and mine layers. In 1925 1,300,000,000 francs was to be spent upon the navy; of this sum half a billion was to be devoted to building secondary ships, for under the treaty no new first line ships can be undertaken until 1932. Particular attention was to be given to strengthening the Mediterranean fleet, which in some particulars is inferior to the Italian, and to developing the naval air service.

In view of the talk concerning the "great American colony" now resident in Paris it was interesting to note that according to the figures released on Dec. 29 this permanent settlement amounts to only 1,420 persons. The total number of foreigners now registered in the capital was given as 274,600. Of these among the largest contingents are 55,000 Italians, 20,000 Belgians, 18,000 Russians, 14,000 Spaniards and 17,000 Poles.

With the arrest of Max Green, Polish by birth but American by naturalized citizenship, the French police said they had captured the leader of a band of American passport counterfeiters who were operating from Warsaw. Green was alleged to have been on his way back to New York with his share of \$400,000 obtained by the sale of fake passports to would-be emigrants to the United States. The anxiety of the French authorities to make this

arrest was increased by the fact that the Government had had to take over the care of over 250 Poles who failed to sail from French ports because of forged passports.

Official statistics were published recently showing precisely the extent of the French military effort in 1914-18; these figures were issued as a "Parliamentary Document" and gave evidence of possessing great historic interest. These statistics showed that during the war France called from civilian life to the colors a total of 7,115,000 Europeans, 240,051 Africans and 223,089 men from the non-African colonies. These, added to the standing army ready for action in 1914, gave the gross figure of 8,501,045 men, mobilized according to thirty-four "classes." The statistics proved the robust and vigorous character of the French race: for example, the "old men" of the class of 1887 reckoned 244,000 living men at the time of mobilization; and of these 54,000 actually served during the war. Of the class of 1897, however, as many as 81 per cent. were able to serve, and of the very young men 89 per cent. were fit for service. As for the French health service, its efficiency was proved by the fact that during the years 1916, 1917 and 1918, 79 per cent. of all the wounded were cured and reincorporated with their units. The figures showed further that 229,037 men were volunteers and of these 2,480 were over 46 years of age. Furthermore, 29,796 foreigners voluntarily enlisted, the Italians heading the list with 7,125.

When the war ended in November, 1918, there were 2,846,000 men at the front, 227,000 beyond seas, mostly in the Salonica army, and the rest upon the northeastern battleline. At the same time there were 1,297,000 in the services of the rear, 1,387,000 were mobilized in factories and 25,000 were on leave. These figures represented the effort of a nation with a home population of only some 38,000,000, and were probably unparalleled in all military history.



France recently reached a satisfactory position relative to her coal production. The average daily output of coal was steadily rising: in 1913 it was 136,147 tons, but after the war as late as January, 1923, it was only 121,064 tons. In October, 1924, however, it was 151,993 tons and it was estimated that the monthly output of coal would soon reach and considerably exceed 4,000,000 tons, the highest figure recorded in the history of the business. A part of this gain was due to the recovery of the mines of Lorraine, but the old mines within the pre-war boundaries, it was stated, were now doing nearly as well as in 1913. This increasing coal supply was another sign that France, already supreme as a purveyor to the world's luxuries, was also becoming a great producer in the heavy industries.

## Belgium

**M.** HYMANS, Minister of Foreign Affairs, gave several important press interviews during the holiday period. In one of these he gave an account of his recent visit to Rome, where he attended a meeting of the Council of the League of Nations. The Italian leaders, he said, showed every sign of wishing to cooperate to the full in the stabilization of European affairs. He added:

The Protocol awakened a great hope, and the Belgian delegates shared this sentiment.

\* \* \* I do not want to prophesy, but it seems unbelievable to me that we cannot find a system of international cooperation which will give security and guarantee peace.

Domestic interest centred upon the Antwerp dock situation. This port which, for some time, suffered severe economic loss, due to its inability to accommodate the larger transatlantic liners, was announced on Dec. 12 to be accessible to all vessels. Simultaneously it was stated that the Red Star steamer *Belgenland* had succeeded in docking at Antwerp. The news of the extension of the port's pier facilities evoked national expressions of satisfaction.

The Belgian Government on Dec. 8 announced its intention of recognizing without any delay the new status of Tangier, Morocco, and of appointing a Belgian commandant of the Tangier gendarmerie under the terms of the international convention.

Seymour Parker Gilbert Jr., agent general for reparations payments under the Dawes plan, was received in special audience by King Albert at Brussels on Dec. 15. Mr. Gilbert eulogized the work of the Belgian organization. Later he paid a visit to Premier Theunis.

The bill fixing the effective strength of the Belgian Army for 1925 at 82,500 men was passed by the Chamber of Deputies on Dec. 18, by 81 votes to 56. The Socialists voted against the measure largely because the present Government did not possess their confidence. M. Vandervelde, speaking in behalf of the Socialists, declared that he recognized that Belgium's desired guarantees of military security had so far won no more solid basis than that afforded by hope. "We do not ignore the necessities of national defense," he stated. "We are certainly internationalist and anti-militarist, and we hate war, but we recognize that the nation must have a military defense force." A deputy of the Extremist "Flemingant" group injected into the debate the suggestion that separate Flemish and Walloon (French) regiments should be created. The day would come, said he, when Flemish soldiers would refuse to obey orders not expressed in their own language.

It was announced in New York on Dec. 19 that the new Belgian Government loan for \$50,000,000 at 6 per cent. had been heavily oversubscribed in America. The bonds were offered at 87½, and were immediately absorbed, so that some would-be purchasers received only one-fifth or one-tenth of their subscriptions. The flood of buying orders was declared to have been proportionately as great as for the recent French loan, which was double the size of this Belgian issue.

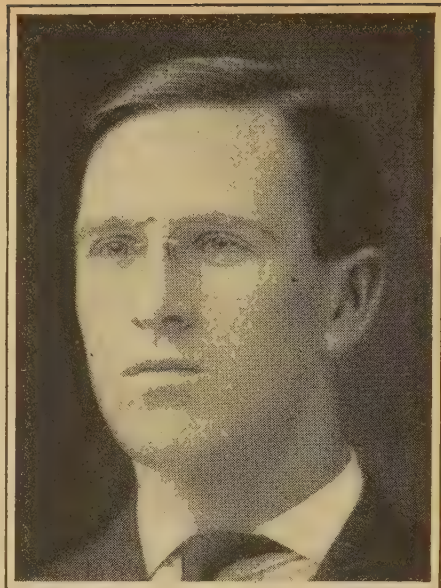
# Germany and Austria

By HARRY J. CARMAN

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**F**OREMOST among political developments in Germany during the month under review was the definite abandonment on Jan. 9 by Chancellor Marx of his attempts to form a Cabinet; Herr Marx on that date returned to President Ebert his commission to form a new Government, thus admitting defeat, after a bitter struggle of five weeks' duration. The Chancellor's surrender was a complete victory for Foreign Minister Stresemann, whose obstructionist tactics were declared to be responsible for his opponent's failure to effect a coalition. This development, though strengthening Stresemann's position strategically, left the national administrative situation in a more confused state than ever since the elections of Dec. 7.

The defeat of the Chancellor was the second serious blow to be suffered by the Marxist party within a few hours. Earlier on the same day President Ebert summarily ousted Dr. Anton Höfle, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, and one of the party's leaders. Dr. Höfle was declared to be seriously compromised by a financial scandal growing out of the exposure of the credit policies of the Prussian State Bank; the Minister's dismissal was understood to have been precipitated by newspaper charges that his department had loaned huge sums to concerns involved in the scandal, and to have specifically loaned 12,000,000 gold marks to a timber concern headed by former Chancellor Wirth. The bank case caused a furore in the Reichstag, which almost unani-



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mously adopted a resolution appointing a committee to investigate the charges of corruption. The significance of the scandal grew steadily, and its political import was expected to be far-reaching. The exposure followed the disclosure that the Prussian State Bank had extended unlimited credits to half a dozen obscure industrial and financial promoters, all of whom were said to have maintained intimate social and even business relations with members of the Socialist Party in and out of office. Chief among these promoters were the four Barmat brothers and Ivan Kutisker, an old-clothes merchant who became wealthy during the war by selling supplies to the Russian and German armies. The Barmats, who had headquarters in Amsterdam, were accused of defrauding the bank of more than \$7,000,000, and Kutisker was accused of frauds totaling \$3,500,000. Several of the bank officials were arrested and the Barmats and Kutisker were taken into custody. Leopold Friedlander, a highly respected banker of the old school who was connected with the Bremen Privatbank, one of the many concerns absorbed by the Barmats, committed suicide because of



their arrest and that of his stepson. Eager to make political capital out of the incident the Nationalist Parties immediately began laying plans for an investigation to determine to what extent the Socialists were involved; the Reichstag resolution ordering an inquiry was one result of these manoeuvres.

The opening of the new year, therefore, brought scant comfort to German officialdom or to the German press. The bewildering Governmental situation was due in part to the parliamentary impasse occasioned by the election of the new Reichstag on Dec. 7, in which no party gained a majority, and to Chancellor Marx's abandonment of the task of forming a Cabinet. Following the resignation of the Marx Government on Dec. 11, Herr Stresemann, leader of the People's Party, was requested to form a new Cabinet. Stresemann apparently hoped that he might succeed by carrying out his long-cherished scheme of organizing a bourgeois bloc which would be pitted against the two workers' parties, the Socialist and the Communist; but, before he had time to persuade the Democrats to collaborate with their old-time enemy, the Nationalists, his plans were blasted by the refusal of the Catholic Centrists to be a party to such a combination. The Centrists' large membership of Catholic workmen and their dislike of the Nationalists' foreign policy accounted for the refusal. President Ebert then tried the semi-official method of asking Dr. Marx to sound all the parties once more in the hope that some possible combination might be discovered. But Marx tried in vain. Finally, as a last expedient, the President directed Herr Marx to form a non-party Cabinet which would have special authority to protect itself in Parliament when it could not rely on a working majority; this plan proved as unworkable as its predecessors, whereupon the Chancellor decided to cease his efforts. The newly elected Reichstag convened on Jan. 5 and devoted itself to perfecting its permanent organization. Paul Loebe, Socialist member, was chosen President of

the Reichstag, which then adjourned to await developments with regard to the formation of a Cabinet.

The more reactionary Monarchists openly threatened, during the past month, to use military force if necessary in order that they might be represented in the next German Government. They even hinted that General von Seeckt, commander of the Reichswehr, Germany's standing army, might use his regiments to support a Government composed of the parties of the Right. Such suggestions, which appeared in the monarchical paper, *Der Tag*, were branded by the *Tageblatt* as "an incitement to a coup d'état." Nationalist threats of this sort were welcome ammunition to those seeking the retirement of General von Seeckt as Reichswehr commander and advocating rigid measures to prevent the Reichswehr from becoming a nucleus for a German war of revenge. Certain French leaders who distrust von Seeckt would welcome his removal; even many German Republicans consider him a strong monarchical sympathizer. On the other hand, even those who distrust him admit that thus far he has served the German Republic faithfully.

Two other political developments excited national attention. The Prussian Minister of Finance, Dr. von Richter, and the Prussian Minister of Education, Dr. Boelitz, resigned on Jan. 6 because the Prussian Cabinet passed a resolution declaring that the recent Prussian elections did not necessitate the resignation of the Cabinet. Drs. von Richter and Boelitz voted against the stand of the other Ministers; the action of the resigning Ministers was interpreted as strengthening the Nationalists. It was reported in Munich on Jan. 8 that the ex-Kaiser had consented to the entry of ex-Crown Prince Rupprecht into politics as a Monarchist candidate; the former Emperor stipulated, however, that Rupprecht run for "Reich Governor" and not for President. This was taken to indicate a hope for eventual monarchical restoration.

The decision of the Allies not to

evacuate Cologne on Jan. 10, as the Germans had hoped, was another cause for the gloomy outlook which seemed to pervade all Germany at the beginning of the year. The preliminary Allied note of Jan. 5, declaring that postponement of the Entente evacuation of the bridgehead was based entirely on Germany's failure to respect the disarmament provisions of the Versailles Treaty, raised a storm of protest. Both the Government and the press emphatically maintained that the alleged charges of default were absolutely without foundation, and that any extension of occupation beyond Jan. 10 would constitute a fundamental breach of the Versailles document. Indeed, the vast majority of Germans, irrespective of party affiliations or general attitude toward foreign policy, regarded the allied attitude on Cologne as dishonest in principle and hypocritical in expression. "The entire German nation," said the liberal Berliner Tageblatt, "is united against this new act of violence. Regarding it there exists in Germany but one opinion all the way from Communists via the Middle Parties to Nationalists and Extremists of the Right." Many leaders asserted that the allied policy also violated the Dawes plan, whose American authors declared that the complete restoration of German sovereignty was an indispensable precondition to the successful fulfillment of the program agreed on at the London Conference. In many quarters fear was expressed lest the international publicity given to the alleged defaults would seriously interfere with the negotiations for German loans in London and the United States. Though the majority of the German people agreed with President Ebert that Germany was a completely disarmed nation in a Europe bristling with armaments, Paul Levy, leader of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party in the Reichstag, declared in a recently published pamphlet that Germany was in an armament race with France. "Imperialism," he stated, "is not forgotten—not abroad and not in Germany. Disarmed Germany is as

fully prepared as the France of limited armament. The flame of 1914 is not put out. The flames are beginning to flare up." The coming war, he asserted, would be fought not by men but by new secret gases and inventions, and he added that in this respect Germany was not lacking.

When Jan. 10 came white flags over Berlin City Hall and many buildings throughout Germany flew at half-mast in token of mourning because the Allies had not evacuated Cologne. Newspapers of all shades of opinion united in considering Jan. 10 a day of mourning and protests poured in from all parts of Germany.

Reports that M. Herriot, the French Premier, was willing to forego French claims to the rest of the Sarre region provided the town of Saarlouis and seven other communities were annexed to France, brought forth a vigorous protest from the Saarlouis municipal authorities. The protest, a copy of which was addressed to Chancellor Marx and another copy to the League of Nations, expressed the complete loyalty of the town to Germany. The German Foreign Office declared it had no knowledge of the proposed French annexation. Bitterness between the French and the Ruhr and Rhineland native population grew keener in January; this was due to orders issued from Berlin restricting the business and handicapping the movements of French traders in occupied zones.

The trial of Herr Rothardt, editor of the Mitteldeutsche Presse, for slandering President Ebert ended Dec. 23 when the defendant was sentenced to three months' imprisonment and to pay all costs of the trial. Rothardt asserted that the President had abetted the munitions strike of 1918 and was, therefore, a traitor to his country. Though the President's counsel showed conclusively that he had taken part in the strike for the purpose of bringing it to an early termination, the Court ruled that he was technically guilty of treason and, therefore, gave the defendant what was considered to be a light sentence. Repub-



lican papers labeled the decision as a Nationalist conspiracy for defamation of the character of the President. Anti-Republican papers, on the other hand, expressed keenest satisfaction with the verdict, which they plan to use as a weapon for driving Herr Ebert into political exile.

Efforts to increase Germany's foreign trade continued. A commercial treaty between Germany and Great Britain was signed in London on Dec. 2. Two days later commercial negotiations were opened with Italy. Negotiations for commercial treaties with France and Belgium were at a standstill owing to inability of the parties concerned to agree on tariff questions; failure to reach some sort of an agreement was officially announced on Jan. 5; last-minute efforts then were made to avert a tariff war between Germany and her two western neighbors, with the expiration of the existing régime on Jan. 10. Belgium, especially, demanded for an indefinite period differential treatment for German chemicals, ceramics, glassware, iron and steel products and machinery. The trade compact with the United States was signed but awaited ratification.

According to Rudolph Oeser, Director General, the German railway system was now back to pre-war standards, with the possible exception of passenger coaches and trackage. As organized under the Dawes plan the system had not only dispensed with the services of 300,000 employees, but was contributing 600,000,000 marks annually to reparations as well as 290,000,000 marks to the federal treasury. The entire system had been divorced from politics and was being run on business principles as an undertaking belonging to the nation but operated as a private corporation under the Dawes plan.

Traugott von Jagow, Adolph Hittler, Colonel Kriebel, Erich Mühsam and other leaders sentenced to prison for engaging in political revolts were released. Recently the Communists enlisted the help of Professor Albert Einstein to secure the release of all po-

litical prisoners. Noteworthy in the criminal field was the conviction of Fritz Haarmann of Hanover, for twenty-four murders, and his sentence to death on Dec. 19; his accomplice, Hans Grans, shared a similar fate.

Sharp disapproval of the participation by German ships in international rum-running was voiced in a resolution adopted at a largely attended meeting of the Nautical Society of Hamburg on Dec. 16. The resolution demanded that the Central Government take immediate action to suppress this illegal traffic.

New manuals of history, quite unlike the pre-war textbooks used in Germany, were prepared for early introduction into all Prussian schools. In these books 'dynasties take second place, and the history of wars is overshadowed by economics, social history and the story of the everyday life of the peoples in the various States which make up the present republic.

The first warship built by Germany since her defeat, which bears the name of the famous war raider Emden, was launched on Jan. 7 at Wilhelmshaven. The vessel is a small cruiser, one of six allowed the Germans by the Versailles Treaty.

It was stated in Berlin on Jan. 13 that plans for organizing an American bank in the German capital were proceeding satisfactorily and that, although it would not be a Morgan bank, J. P. Morgan would be interested. The new bank's capital was to be 800,000,000 marks, of which one-half would be German. Preferential treatment was to be accorded to German shareholders in the matter of credits. In New York it was stated that some of the larger banking organizations would rather operate through the new bank than establish their own branches.

## Austria

**NEW YEAR'S EVE**, the occasion of Austria's greatest celebration during the year, was marked by a number of suicides and tragedies in Vienna, where, on account of difficult times,

people still were living on their nerves. The City's First Aid workers were kept busy, being summoned no less than forty times during the night, either to suicides or to people wounded in dangerous street fights. Christmas Day was also spoiled for a large number of Viennese by simultaneous strikes at three of Vienna's leading playhouses.

Action to provide work for at least 50,000 of Austria's unemployed was started by the Vienna Labor Chamber with the Government's support. Various large public works were planned, including the reclamation of vast tracts of new country in Bergenland, the regulation of drainable portions of Newsiedler Lake, the building of a railroad to the magnesite works at Veitsch, and construction of the long-talked-of Freeport-Vienna line. These undertakings will be financed partly by domestic credit available under the unemployment law; owing to the smallness of funds from this source, however, large credits from abroad will be necessary to put through the plan in its entirety. The fact that emigration of surplus labor to the United States is restricted by American law makes it especially imperative that these projects be carried out. To alleviate hardships among those out of work and to prevent possible trouble, the Government just prior to the holidays voted 10,000,000 kronen for immediate distribution among the most needy families. The cost of electricity in Vienna was reduced 12½ per cent. at the beginning of the new year, but this was offset by the 5 per cent. radio tax decreed by Herr Breitner, financial adviser for the municipality.

The question of the return of the Hapsburgs recently became a burning issue. Reports that ex-Empress Zita with her son, the twelve-year-old Archduke Otto, wanted to return to Hungary, were followed by the official announcement that the Austrian Christian Socialist Party had appointed a commission to consider action for the repeal of the confiscation law. The So-

cial Democrats, violently opposed to such procedure, roundly denounced the Christian Socialists. The confiscated property, which includes a dozen large estates, seventeen apartment houses in Vienna and Baden and a number of villas, belongs at present to the Foundation for War Invalids and represents a value of several million dollars. The press significantly pointed out that the Austrian legitimists, although few in number, voted for the Christian Socialists at the last elections.

Communist plans for terrorizing the bourgeois during the Christmas period were nipped in the bud by the Vienna police. A few skirmishes occurred in outlying quarters, and fifty-seven ring-leaders, including the German Communist Max Haas, were arrested. The centre of Vienna's shopping district was also the scene of some rioting, which not only obliged shopkeepers to close their doors at certain times but frightened away the buying public. Ruth Fischer, well-known German Communist leader, was arrested in Vienna on Jan. 3 on the charge of crossing the border under a false passport. It was reported that the Communists in Vienna had made arrangements for the wholesale fabrication of false passports to enable their agents to travel freely through the Balkan States.

A general inspection of the Federal army and private munition factories in Austria was ordered by the Conference of Ambassadors. This inspection was designed as a preliminary to the termination of the military control exercised by the allied Governments in Austria.

Austria by Parliamentary decree adopted a new shilling currency, effective June 30, 1925. The name of the hundredth part of the shilling will be a groschen, or groat, instead of stuber as originally proposed. One shilling will be worth 10,000 paper crowns, and thus seven silver shillings will be equivalent to one American dollar. Gold pieces worth one hundred shillings and twenty-five shillings will also be coined.



# Italy

By LILY ROSS TAYLOR

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THE month under review saw Premier Mussolini yield to the intransigent elements in his own party, abandon his campaign to check Fascist violence and make a move to assert the power of his virtual dictatorship by the employment of his military militia in much the same way that the Roman emperors of old asserted their supremacy through the use of the Pretorian Guard. A series of circumstances, that made his position increasingly precarious, led up to the change in policy. The continued opposition to the militia, to the proposed army reform and to the law to control the press which was presented to the Chamber found steady expression in the Opposition papers and had some effect in undermining confidence in the Government. Moreover a number of revelations, which involved among others General de Bono, former Chief of Police, and Signor Giunta, Vice President of the Chamber of Deputies, in lawsuits for inciting Fascisti to violence, tended to shake popular confidence in Mussolini and his entourage. The case of Giunta who, to keep from embarrassing his party, resigned from his post as Vice President of the Chamber, provoked a demonstration in the Chamber, where Fascists declared that they would not permit the Fascist revolution to be put on trial. The Chamber by a rising vote approved the motion to reject Giunta's resignation. Former Premier Salandra, who had hitherto supported Mussolini, remaining seated during the vote. Insults were hurled by Fascisti against Deputy Boeri, who was elected to the Chamber on the Fascist ticket but who had opposed the Government in this and in other recent questions. When Boeri approached the Government benches, Mussolini called on him to resign because he had deserted the group

that had elected him. "I will resign," declared Bori. "In allowing my name to be included in the national lists, I did not intend to share in penal responsibilities." Salandra left the Chamber as a sign of his displeasure. It was clear then that he was less firm in his support of Fascism than he had previously been, and, though he did not actually join Giolitti and Orlando in open opposition to Mussolini until two weeks later, his signs of dissatisfaction had their effect on many who found in Salandra's support a strong reason for confidence in Mussolini.

Mussolini then made a surprising announcement which, for a while, seemed to indicate a tendency to keep to the conciliatory course shown by the manifesto issued on Dec. 1 to Fascist chiefs urging them to abstain from violence. In Parliament on Dec. 20 he announced that the Chamber would be called upon shortly to vote upon a new election law that meant in effect the restoration of the old uninominal system, which was in use before Mussolini's new election law was passed in 1923. That law, which gave to the party with a plurality two-thirds of the seats from all election districts, resulted in the anomalies of the later situation in which most of the minority representatives seceded from the Chamber to "the Aventino." The proposal for a return to the old system was received with enthusiasm by Liberals and by moderate Fascist elements; it was opposed by extreme Fascisti, who saw in it a concession, and by the chief Opposition forces, who believed that the election to follow the law would be made the occasion of the general amnesty urged by many Fascisti—a measure that would free the party from the many trials for illegality now being brought against its members. Mussolini's statement on the proposed reform,

made to Fascist Deputies on Dec. 25, is true to his old form, with no suggestion of compromise:

I proposed electoral reform on my own initiative. It is not connected with any aims suggested in more or less bad faith by my adversaries. It is part of a plan of reform which I have in mind and which I intend to carry out from time to time independently of the dreams of my adversaries. It was necessary to announce suddenly what has been called Saturday's "thunderbolt" because of the secrecy maintained previously, but that does not mean that it was not profoundly considered. I even forecast it some time ago. It will be approved whether the Aventine Opposition comes in or not, and elections will be carried out under me, though it will be impossible to do that immediately. I shall choose a suitable moment, taking into account the condition of the country. \* \* \* Elections will be called when I think best; the idea that this will be at once is unfounded. Fascism will be victorious in the new elections, but whether before or after them, I shall continue tranquilly to carry out my plan.

If this is considered a thunderbolt, there will be others from time to time. I have long had under consideration a precise plan; I know what I shall do from today through the whole year of 1925.

In the succeeding days the situation rapidly became more complicated. The Opposition papers of Dec. 27 published photographic facsimiles of the memorandum known to have been prepared by the former chief of the Fascist Press Bureau, Cesare Rossi, in the week of June, 1924, that preceded his arrest for complicity in the plot to murder Matteotti. Following upon the charges against General de Bono, General Italo Balbo and Deputy Giunta and the reports of Aldo Finzi's account of a general Fascist "ring" to perform acts of violence, Rossi's memorandum involving Mussolini with the whole lawless policy of Fascismo had a great effect upon public opinion. The memorandum says of the responsibility for what has happened:

Both Fascist and Opposition papers try to attribute to me the organization of several cases of violence after the march on Rome. Let me say at once that whatever has happened always has happened by the direct wish

of, with the approval of, with the complicity of, the Duce.

As specific cases of violence, Rossi mentioned the beating of Deputy Amendola, the sacking of ex-Premier Nitti's house and the destruction of Catholic clubs. He charged Mussolini with responsibility for the famous policy of "administering castor oil" to his opponents. He also declared that several men, including three of those now in prison for the murder of Matteotti, were sent to France with false passports by Mussolini to avenge the death of Francesco Gori, killed by the Communists in Paris. "The truth is," he said, "that Mussolini's violent and sanguinary temperament resisted all efforts to return to normality." Mussolini had even, he added, "begun to hint at certain plans which in substance consisted of the kidnapping and suppression of all the most feared leaders of the Opposition." The memorandum did not discuss the Matteotti case, except in so far as it tried to show that Rossi was without knowledge of it, but Mussolini's implication in the plot was clearly suggested.

Although the authenticity of the document was at first questioned, it later seemed to be generally conceded. It was tacitly admitted in the statement of Rossi's attorney that the memorandum was published without Rossi's consent, and it was not doubted by Mussolini's organ, the *Popolo d'Italia*, which said of the memorandum:

Weighing the document, which is the work of an accused man, what appears? First, that Rossi gives no proof by any witness of his accusations against the head of Fascismo concerning the lesser aggressions; second, that the memorandum was written last June, while the police were in close pursuit of Rossi, obliging him to give himself up. The suggestion by Rossi that he be permitted to escape was refused. Thus the memorandum was written in a moment of mad exasperation, with an evident spirit of unscrupulous reprisal.

Third, seven months elapsed, during which time the judges did not consider it necessary to ascertain the truth or intrinsic value of what Rossi wrote. If they had believed him the judges would have carried out to their



logical and judicial consequences Rossi's assertions. Fourth, that although the memorandum was written under such circumstances, it does not contain any positive accusation of the direct or indirect responsibility of the Premier in the Matteotti affair.

The publication of the memorandum led to an intensification of the demands for Mussolini's resignation that had appeared in the Opposition press. The Fascist extremists, led by Farinacci, countered by demanding violent reprisals against the Opposition, and, as was true more than once before in the Fascist revolution, these latter demands prevailed. On Dec. 31, 1924, drastic measures were put into effect. The homes of a number of Opposition leaders were searched for firearms, and six newspapers in Rome and four in Milan were seized for publishing the following letter of former Deputy Misuri protesting against the search:

I publicly ask the head of the Government, who pronounced three sentences of death against me, one of which was almost carried out, what he wishes to do with me and other Opposition leaders. Perhaps, to please the extremists of his party, he wishes to leave us unarmed for the night on which we will be massacred.

I ask the Minister of Internal Affairs whether he does not think it would be better to arrest the unpunished authors of the attacks I have suffered instead of abusing his powers by subjecting me to further persecutions.

I ask him also whether he does not think that, instead of searching for the few weapons I possess, it is his duty to retrieve whole truckloads of arms belonging to the State which have been given to the half-grown boys, degenerates, habitual criminals, drug addicts and confirmed drunkards belonging to his party.

Is it possible that these super-politicians do not understand that when the situation is ripe arms are quite useless and that sticks and stones are quite sufficient to get rid of a tyrant?

On the same day (Dec. 31, 1924) a group of Fascisti raided the newspaper *Nuovo Giornale* in Florence and set fire to the plant. Other groups of Fascisti destroyed several buildings in Florence, including the house of a Socialist lawyer. In the next few days rioting, usu-

ally of an isolated character, was reported from many parts of Italy. The Government met the situation with an iron fist, suppressing newspapers that printed material considered subversive and prohibiting any type of political gathering either of Fascists or of Opposition. When Parliament reconvened on Jan. 3, 1925, it became clear that such a policy was to continue. In his speech Mussolini said:

I declare before this Chamber, before the world and before God that I personally assume the whole political, moral and historical responsibility for what has occurred. I declare that if the Fascisti are an association of malefactors, then I am the head of that association of malefactors.

He touched briefly upon the charges of Cesare Rossi, asking whether any one desired to exercise the right of impeaching the Ministers. When there was no reply he declared that he would at once take action against the Opposition and its press:

There has been enough. When two parties fight each other from apparently impregnable positions, then force alone can be the arbiter, and the whole of history teaches us this. The Opposition believed that Fascism was dead because on some occasions I have found it necessary to punish it. But let them remember that if I had employed in enflaming Fascism a hundredth part of the energy I have employed in restraining it, then indeed there would not be one single enemy of Fascism from one end of Italy to the other.

The Government, however, is sufficiently strong to destroy the Aventine Opposition entirely. I solemnly bind myself within forty-eight hours of this speech to clear up the political situation.

Mussolini's return to the swashbuckling style of speaking and acting aroused great enthusiasm among his supporters, who saw the real character of the Fascist revolution saved. The *Popolo d'Italia* said of the change:

Jan. 3 will be a memorable date in the history of Italian civilization. Italy, Europe and the world now know that Fascism has become the Government in order to personify the whole nation. Oppositions are a thing of the past.

The measures which Mussolini promised to take in forty-eight hours were

put under way immediately. A legion of Fascist railroad police was mobilized to prevent acts of sabotage and prefects were ordered to break up political gatherings throughout Italy. One hundred and twenty branches of the Italia Libera Association were shut down, 111 suspected revolutionaries arrested, 150 cafés closed and barred and 655 domiciliary searches made. Prefects suppressed newspapers of the Opposition and particularly the Socialist newspapers in all the provinces. The *Corriere della Sera*, the most prominent paper of the Opposition, continued to appear but without articles or comments on the situation. The new turn in affairs caused Salandra to take the threatened step of joining Giolitti and Orlando in the Liberal Opposition group and to resign his post as Italian representative to the League of Nations.

It had been expected for some time that Casati and Sarocchi, the two Liberal Ministers in Mussolini's Cabinet, would give up their portfolios, but they apparently did not do so until Mussolini's new policies determined him to have a thoroughly Fascist Cabinet. Two Fascists, Fidele and Giurati, were appointed to the posts of Minister of Public Works and Minister of Public Instruction in place of the two Liberal Ministers, and Alfredo Rocco, President of the Chamber, was made Minister of Justice in place of Oviglio, who also resigned because of the recent developments.

The Opposition was so seriously divided that even if it had had the force to combat Mussolini, the task would have been extremely difficult. The Liberals, with Giolitti, Orlando and Salandra among them, continued to attend Parliament, and the other Opposition parties persisted, in pursuance of their "Aventine secession," in their decision to boycott the Chamber of Deputies. The Communists, as always, refused to act with the other groups in the Opposition, and the Catholic Party, though united with the other "Aventine" group, had to face the constant opposition of the Church to a coalition which united

them with the Socialists. There was for the moment no indication of a force capable of bringing together the scattered Opposition to any sort of concerted action. In the divisions among his opponents Mussolini still had his greatest source of strength.

Outstanding among January political developments was the announcement by Premier Mussolini on Jan. 7 at a Cabinet Council meeting that he would ask the King to dissolve the present Chamber as soon as the new electoral law had been passed by Parliament and to hold another election. The announcement provoked the Aventine Opposition, which demanded that Mussolini resign prior to dissolving the Chamber. Evidently desiring to end the discussion in the press as to the date of the election, Mussolini on Jan. 10 declared that it could not take place before November and probably not until 1926.

Before the recent suppression of the Opposition took place, reports were given in the Chamber on the conditions existing in various departments of the Government. The Minister of Communications declared that the railroad deficit had been completely wiped out, that the postal, telegraph and telephone service was being conducted with a surplus, and that the subventions allowed to private steamship companies had been materially reduced. The increased prosperity of the country, which augmented traffic, Minister Ciano declared, had been a strong factor in this improvement. Finance Minister Stefani's report showed a steady amelioration in the budget since Fascismo came into power. The indications were that the financial year, which runs from July 1 to July 1, would end with a slight surplus.

Mussolini's declarations in the Chamber indicated that his constructive policies for the welfare of Italy—policies in which many who opposed his methods found justification for his power—had gone forward. In his speech to the Chamber on Dec. 12 he gave an account of the plans being made to care for the surplus population of



Italy. After stating his opposition to any form of Malthusian propaganda and to a policy of foreign conquest, he pointed out that the increase of 450,000 per year in the population made it necessary for Italy either to provide more work at home—which is possible only to a very limited extent—or to carry out plans for emigration. On the new American immigration law he said:

The war has accentuated the national consciousness of men and has put before them problems that were not before them once. The moment came when the United States began to doubt its powers of assimilation. From the day when a question of the Anglo-Saxon race's ability to assimilate other peoples came into the minds of the ruling class in the United States, events began to lead to the situation which has reduced our opportunities for emigration to the United States to the laughable figure of 4,500 persons a year. In making the new law [the late] Samuel Gompers played his part too, wishing to avoid the competition of European workmen and to keep the pay of American workmen high.

Mussolini then explained the plans for emigration to South America. These included careful investigation in Italy to determine whether the emigrants were of a type to secure labor in the countries to which they go, and far-reaching plans for work financed by Italian capital to occupy the emigrants in their new homes. He noted that there had been increase in emigration amounting to about 25 per cent. a year in the period of Fascist rule.

In the same speech, referring to the plans for the support of the Italian Archaeological Institute in Athens, Mussolini made clear the importance of such institutions in his political program:

We must understand this principle, that the spiritual expansion of a people is in close relation to their political prestige. If our political prestige is low, no one will make an effort to learn our language or literature or even our history. If our political prestige is high, peculiar phenomena will result and at Vienna or Budapest or in other capitals schools will be

founded that will be largely frequented by local elements.

It was announced at Rome on Jan. 9 that important arrests of alleged Communists had been made in the Province of Liguria. The arrests, according to the police, revealed a widespread revolutionary plot. Large quantities of propaganda literature were seized.

## The Vatican

AT a secret consistory held on Dec. 18 to appoint the Cardinal Legates, who were to open the Jubilee Year, Pope Pius took the occasion of the return of the Pontifical Relief Mission from Russia to denounce the Moscow Government and the principles of Bolshevism in terms that were described as the strongest denunciation of a foreign Government or of a political movement made by any Pope in recent times. He said in part:

After having tried for such a long time with all our might and all our heart to relieve the sufferings of the Russian people, we feel it our duty, imposed on us by the universal paternal mission which God has entrusted to us, to warn and most earnestly to exhort all men, and especially all heads of Governments, in the name of our Redeemer, that all those who love peace and the public welfare and all those who believe in the sanctity of the family and in human dignity may unite to avert from themselves and their fellows the grave dangers and inevitable injuries of socialism and communism.

Pope Pius, on Dec. 24, in a formal ceremony that was attended by all the pomp and splendor that the Papal Court can muster, opened the holy door in the basilica of St. Peter, thus announcing in the presence of pilgrims from distant parts of the earth the beginning of the twenty-third papal jubilee year. The ceremony at St. Peter was followed by similar ceremonial openings of the holy doors by the Cardinal Legates in the basilicas of St. John Lateran, Santa Maria Maggiore and St. Paul's Outside the Walls.

# Eastern Europe and the Balkans

By FREDERIC A. OGG

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## Albania

THE month of December, 1924, witnessed a succession of events in Albania reminiscent of the turbulent happenings of last June, and with the same result, i. e., the replacing of one Ministry by another by means not commonly employed in constitutional States. A revolt on the former occasion made the Harvard graduate, Bishop Fan Stylian Noli, Premier; and a revolt on the latter occasion put the Bishop to flight and brought his competitor, the Moslem, Ahmet Zogu, again to the top.

The uprising of December, 1924, bristled with possibilities of serious international complications. By reason of its location, Albania has a political and strategic importance far in excess of its size or the number of its inhabitants. At least three States—Italy, Yugoslavia and Greece—are vitally interested that its territory be neutralized and not subject to foreign domination; and the appearance of British warships at Avlona and Duraggo during the late crisis betokened the concern of more distant powers whenever the Albanian pot threatens to boil over.

Having been condemned to death on charges of high treason and thus compelled to flee the country last June, Ahmet Zogu (who had been Premier since Dec. 3, 1922) took refuge in Serbia; and whether or not his machinations during the ensuing six months received any encouragement from the Yugoslav authorities, it is certain that the first blow against Fan Noli's Government was struck from Yugoslav soil and that the rebel forces included a certain number of Yugoslav subjects. Once definitely launched, the plot grew until practically all the populations of Northern Albania and the Skodar region were drawn into it. By Dec. 16

Tirana was threatened and the position of Fan Noli menaced. On Dec. 18 a general mobilization of Albanian troops was ordered, although not until after the insurgents had captured Krouma and other important places.

The Government on Dec. 19 lodged a protest with the League of Nations against the alleged formation of armed bands in the territory of Yugoslavia and asked the Secretariat to make representations to the Belgrade Government. An appeal was also addressed to the great powers, urging action to prevent further Yugoslav aggression; and on Dec. 20 the League Council was asked by the Albanian authorities to consider the matter as quickly as possible.

The League machinery provided for such cases was set in motion promptly and both the Albanian and the Yugoslav Governments were asked to communicate full statements of their cases, with all the relevant data. The fact that the League Council had just completed its session in Rome prevented immediate oral discussion, but through the Secretariat the matter was put in course of due consideration and a special meeting of the Council was taken under advisement.

Events, however, moved to a swift conclusion. By Christmas Day Tirana was in the insurgents' hands; and although some ground had been lost in the northeast all the central portion of the country had been gained. Premier Fan Noli fled, first to Valona and later (on Dec. 27) to the Italian city of Brindisi, announcing that he was through with politics and that he intended to go to America. Ahmet Zogu took over the Government, declared that he wished peace both at home and abroad, and became, by the close of the year 1924, almost undisputed master of the country.



Meanwhile the authorities at Belgrade and the Yugoslav Legations and Embassies throughout the world vehemently denied that the revolt was in any degree aided and abetted by Yugoslavia, and M. Nintchitch, Yugoslav Foreign Minister, issued a statement to the press saying that the Albanian policy of his Government would be in harmony with that of the Italian Government, the object in both cases being the maintenance of a free and independent Albanian State.

## Bulgaria

IT continued to be alleged that Bulgaria, like other Baltic States, was the scene of ceaseless Bolshevik propaganda, inspired from Moscow, but directed in part from Vienna, and it was repeatedly prophesied that there would be, not later than the middle of March, a definite attack upon the Sofia Government from outside by use of Macedonian bands and from the inside by means of a Communist rebellion. It was therefore interesting to note that M. Albert Thomas, Chief of the International Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, on his return in mid-December from an exhaustive study of communism in Balkan countries, reported that in Bulgaria and elsewhere the Bolshevik effort had been almost entirely unsuccessful. He said that notwithstanding the resolute attempt to convert the Bulgarian peasants, there had been meagre results; and he considered that the only Balkan lands in which Bolshevik agitation continued active were Macedonia and the discontented sections of Yugoslavia.

In the middle of December the Sofia Cabinet unanimously repudiated all responsibility for the share of the Ottoman debt allotted to Bulgaria, declaring it excessive in view of the small portion of Turkish territory included within the country under the post-war frontier adjustment. The Government asserted that the country was still staggering under crushing war burdens and could not pay the stipulated sum,

amounting to more than 100,000,000 leva annually.

On Christmas day Premier Tsankoff left Sofia for Belgrade and Bucharest in order to negotiate understandings among the Balkan States on various pressing issues.

## Czechoslovakia

AT the end of November negotiations were started looking toward a new commercial treaty with Poland. The present treaty dates from 1921 and has proved inadequate in several respects. A protocol was drawn up early in December, and the discussion was continued throughout the month.

It was announced at the beginning of December that President Masaryk's volume of war memoirs, which will bear the title "The World Revolution During the War, 1914-1918," would be ready for the printer before the end of the year, and that, simultaneously with the appearance of the book in Czech, German, French and English translations, would be issued.

The efforts of the German parliamentary bloc to induce all the Opposition parties, irrespective of nationality, to present a united front in the National Assembly proved unsuccessful. The German Nationalists, German National Socialists, Slav People's Party, and the Hungarian Bourgeois Party agreed to the plan in principle, but the German Social Democratic Party, at a conference held in the middle of December, decided that the party should continue to be guided entirely by socialist principles, and asserted absolute freedom and independence in the choice of its methods. Actually, however, the German Social Democrats often vote with the other Opposition groups.

## Greece

THE offering of \$11,000,000 Greek Government forty-year 7 per cent. secured sinking fund gold bonds in the United States and of \$37,500,000 in Great Britain in the middle of December was entirely successful. The Ameri-

can allotment, handled by Speyer & Co., was heavily oversubscribed, and the British portion was covered twenty times over. The remainder of the total \$60,000,000 had been offered successfully to the investors of Greece herself. Proceeds of the loan were to be used to follow up the Greek refugee relief work already conducted through the League of Nations, under whose supervision 1,500,000 Greeks who fled from Turkish aggression were being settled on Greek soil. Never before had a Greek loan of any kind been brought to the American market. As a preliminary, the Greek Government, through legislation by the Parliament, took strong measures for the stabilization of the drachma, which has sold for more than a year at about fifty to the dollar.

Mr. Henry Morgenthau, who was the first Chairman of the Greek Refugees Settlement Commission, was succeeded by Mr. Charles P. Howland, who was scheduled to sail in January to enter upon his duties. The commission was made up of four men, each of whom had one vote except the American representative, who had two and served as Chairman.

For the first time since 1921 Greece is now represented at Washington by an official Minister. The new representative, M. Charalambous Simopoulos, formerly Minister at Warsaw, Prague and Budapest and Chancellor at Constantinople, was formally received by President Coolidge on Dec. 12. He declared that the Greek people strongly desired peace at home and abroad and wished to devote their energies for many years to come to the economic rehabilitation of their country and the absorption of the refugee population.

## Hungary

THE political storms which swept Budapest at the end of November, 1924, subsided, leaving the Bethlen Government intact; and during the ensuing month its position grew stronger rather than the reverse. One cause was the unexpectedly severe sentences im-

posed upon the instigators and perpetrators of the series of bomb outrages by which Hungary had been harassed during the past two and one-half years. These outrages—of which the most serious was the throwing of an infernal machine into the Jewish Elizabeth Club in April, 1922, but which did not stop short of attempts to blow up the French Legation and the Czechoslovak Consulate—were the work of persons known or supposed to be inspired by the organization called "The Awakening Magyars," and it had come to be generally believed that the Government, if not actually condoning the outrages, was disinclined to press for the punishment of the offenders. It was therefore taken as a vindication of the Government's integrity when, in the middle of December, 1924, two of the nine accused persons were condemned to death and four others were sentenced to from five to ten years of imprisonment at hard labor.

Another accession of strength, from a different source, rose from the National Assembly's adoption on Dec. 12, 1924, of a bill amending the standing rules so as to empower the Speaker to cut short any discussion at will and to exclude the Opposition from the sessions. This drastic regulation was regarded as tantamount to a dictatorship for Premier Bethlen. In order that the rule—which by its own terms was not to become effective until the next session—might be put in force without delay, the Assembly was at once prorogued, and a new session opened on the following day.

It was announced on Dec. 15 that the veteran Count Julius Andrássy, who had been out of politics for some time, would re-enter public life. It was stated that he would lead the Legitimist Party, consisting chiefly of the old aristocracy and devoted primarily to the restoration by constitutional methods of monarchy as represented by the person of Prince Otto, eldest son of former Emperor Charles. The immediate object of the party was to secure a repeal of the measure forbidding Prince Otto



and his brothers and sisters to return to Hungary.

A hotly contested by-election at Miskolc, which roused the Awakening Magyars to exceptional activity, resulted in the triumph of the candidate of the Democratic Opposition by a substantial majority.

The Supreme Court on Dec. 16 dismissed the appeal of Count Michael Károlyi, former President of the Hungarian Republic, for an annulment of the judgment of the lower court confiscating his estates on a charge of high treason. The judgment thus went into effect, involving a private fortune of 10,000,000 gold crowns and entailed estates—the second most extensive in Hungary—consisting of several thousand acres of farm lands and worth many millions of dollars.

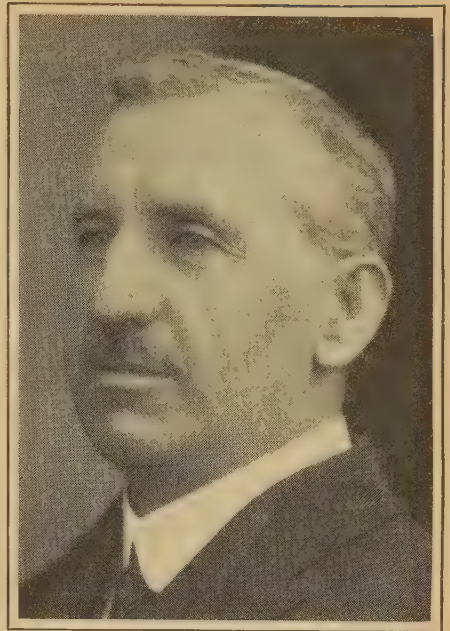
Count Károlyi recently arrived in New York from London. He was allowed to land in view of the fact that he had come to join his wife, Countess Károlyi, whose lecture tour in the United States had been interrupted by an attack of typhoid fever.

## Poland

**TWO** agreements regulating the payment of Poland's debt to Great Britain were concluded in London after months of negotiations conducted by the Polish Minister, M. Skirmunt, and a special delegate from the Finance Ministry, M. Wojtkiewicz. Under the arrangement effected the sum of £15,000,000, in repayment of relief credits, was to be paid by Poland within fifteen years; the rate of interest was to be reduced from 6 to 5 per cent.; and the unpaid interest for the preceding years was to be added to the total debt. Other obligations of Poland to Great Britain, amounting to 5,000,000 zlotys (about \$1,000,000) are to be funded.

## Yugoslavia

**IMPELLED** by fear of Bolshevism, the Yugoslav Government entered into an interesting rapprochement with the traditionally hostile Government of



MOMTCHILO NINTCHITCH  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia

Bulgaria and assumed the leadership in a general counter-offensive in the Balkans against the influence and machinations of Moscow. On economic grounds Yugoslavia would be little endangered by the Soviet propaganda, but the political situation—notably the autonomist or separatist movements—renders the country a fertile field for Communist agitation. It was announced on Dec. 28 that a complete understanding had been arrived at by the Belgrade and Sofia authorities; and statements given out indicated that Rumania and other States were to be brought in, leading to a general agreement somewhat reminiscent of the Balkan alliance of 1912. A few days previously, Foreign Minister Nintchitch had conferred in Paris with both French and British representatives, who had, in effect, invested him with the sword and banner of a new anti-Soviet crusade.

Convinced that Stefan Raditch's Croat Republican Party was an instrumentality of Bolshevik agitation and bent upon the disruption of the King-

dom, the Belgrade Government decreed the party's dissolution on Dec. 23, seized its funds, and issued warrants for the arrest of all of its leaders. Drastic measures were taken to prevent a popular outbreak; the police forces of the entire country were mobilized and the troops in all provinces outside the old Serbian Kingdom were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for action. Several armed clashes, in fact, ensued at Lubuski and other places.

The arrest of M. Raditch was announced on Jan. 5 from Belgrade. The arrest was reported to have been effected in a walled-up room in the house of his son-in-law, Deputy Kosutich, where Raditch had been in hiding many weeks. Documents seized at the time of the arrest were declared to be of such an incriminating nature as to insure the conviction of Raditch and his followers on the charge of high treason. It was stated that these papers proved Raditch's treasonable connections with the Soviet Government and other powers, including Hungary, manifesting the Croat leader's intention to disrupt the Yugoslav Government. Wholesale arrests of members of the Raditch party continued all over the kingdom, the number of arrests running into a total of thousands. At Sebenico, Dalmatia, alone over 600 people were seized, these arrests, however, including other Opposition groups. Raditch, on Jan. 6, was examined by the prosecuting attorney for the first time since his arrest. At the Slovene People's Party meeting at Marburg on Jan. 7 the Slovene leader, Koroshetz, made a bitter attack on the Government for its suppressive policy. So far there had been disagreement among the Croats and Slovenes, he declared, but hereafter the whole Croatian and Slovene people would stand united against the Belgrade "dictatorship." M. Davidovitch, the former Premier, declared publicly on Jan. 5 that the measures taken by Premier Pashitch against the Raditch party were unconstitutional and would endanger the unity and security of the Yugoslav State. The Yugoslav Government, how-

ever, gave every indication of its belief that its action would further, not impair, the State's security.

A Belgrade message, dated Jan. 10, reported that arrests of Opposition politicians and their supporters were still being carried out by thousands and with great severity throughout Yugoslavia. Not only Croats, but also Hungarians and Germans, were being arrested.

## Rumania

**PRINCE BIBESCO**, Rumanian Minister to the United States, returned to Bucharest in December in order to inform his Government in detail upon the American attitude toward various matters—especially the implications of the new Rumanian mining law—in dispute between the two countries. It will be recalled that the American Minister, Mr. Jay, recently made a visit to Washington for similar purposes. Though



JON DUCA  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Rumania



strongly disclaiming any intention to embarrass the situation by intervening in Mr. Jay's negotiations with the Rumanian Foreign Office, the Prince expressed confidence that his cooperation would be helpful in straightening out misunderstandings.

The moratorium on payment of private external debts was on Dec. 20 extended until March 15.

A Russo-Rumanian commission for surveillance of the Dniester frontier, which met at Soroca and then at Cetatea-Alba, decided to prohibit the passage of refugees and to take rigorous measures to guard the frontier. The protest of the Rumanian delegates against the aggressions of September, 1924, coupled with evidence of com-

licity by the Ukrainian Government, was answered by the Russians with a statement that the incursion referred to had occurred without the knowledge of the Soviet authorities.

Mr. C. Diamandy, it was announced, had been appointed Rumanian Minister to Paris to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. V. Antonesca. A new legation had been created at The Hague and Tirana, Albania. The Rumanian Government had decided to create a Rumanian patriarchate at Bucharest, in view of the conferring on the King of Rumania by the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem of the title "Protector of the Greek Orthodox Christians"—which title had been held by the late Czar of Russia.

## Russia

By ARTHUR B. DARLING

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THE Soviet triumvirate—Stalin, Kamenev and Zinoviev—continued their attack upon Trotsky. Their influence spread until almost every acknowledged leader in the Communist Party had joined in denunciation of the former War Minister for his attack on the Communist leaders in his recently published book, "1917." Latest among his opponents was Sokolnikov, Minister of Finance, who declared in *Pravda*, Dec. 31: "The party made a mistake in not revealing earlier Trotsky's attitude toward the internal and international situation." The *Berlin Tageblatt* reported that illuminated signs in Moscow urged Russians to read the writings of Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin and learn about Trotsky's blunders.

The Soviet authorities hastened to deny reports reaching Berlin that Trotsky had been banished to the Crimea, that his alleged departure from Moscow

had been attended by serious rioting and that part of the Red Army had seized Stalin to hold him prisoner until he should resign as Secretary of the Communist Party and leave Moscow. M. Semashko, Commissar for Health, on Dec. 31 declared to the correspondent of *The New York Times* that Trotsky, because of illness, had not left Moscow and that, when he finally departed for Southern Russia, he would go under no pressure from the Government or the Communist Party. Trotsky's opponents, it seems, had no desire to cast him in the rôle of a martyr. They hoped, however, to increase the denunciation of him so much that he would be completely discredited before the forthcoming general congress of the Communist Party scheduled to be held on Jan. 10. Meanwhile Trotsky kept his silence, declining to be drawn into any verbal controversy with his many assailants.

It was announced on Jan. 5 that the Communist Party sections throughout Russia had begun preparations for celebrating the first anniversary of Lenin's death. Lenin died on Jan. 21, 1924. The next day, Jan. 22, which since the Bolshevik revolution, has been observed as a national holiday in commemoration of the workers shot in front of the Winter Palace, when they went in thousands to present a petition to the Czar, will henceforth be dedicated to Lenin's memory. The anniversary is to be marked by a new campaign for in-

creasing the membership of the Communist Party.

Encouraged perhaps by the tense situation at Moscow, Grand Duke Cyril followed his recent proclamation of himself as Czar with the announcement of his program. If he were to ascend the Russian throne, he would grant: universal—not necessarily equal—suffrage, free education, unemployment insurance, full political amnesty, religious tolerance, equal legal rights for the Jews and recognition of the peasants' right to hold the lands which they had seized. He would, however, compensate the landlords, as well as the owners of other property confiscated by the Soviet Government. He would recognize all Russian debts, except those contracted under the present régime. It was reported from Tokio that Russian colonies in Japan and Manchuria had been stirred by Cyril's call to arms. General Semenov, former White leader, had recently announced the organization of a company to trade in Mongolia. It was said that Semenov's real purpose was to ship arms. At Berlin, however, Cyril's campaign roused the anger of the supporters of Grand Duke Nicholas. They summoned General Wrangel to a secret conclave. According to reports, Wrangel declared that his White army, interned in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria since its defeat in the Crimea by the Red Army, was by no means disorganized; but he thought that Cyril's activity was only "bluff." The followers of Kerensky, head of the revolutionary Government which preceded the Bolshevik régime, resented the implication that they had joined with the supporters of Nicholas to welcome Wrangel in Berlin. All Russian exiles had common hatred of the Reds, but they were not ready to unite in common cause to overthrow the Soviet Government.

The ideal of Soviet rule is that the enfranchised population in local communities shall have unquestioned freedom to elect delegates to Soviet



A. I. Rykov, President of the Soviet Council of People's Commissars, speaking to a peasant during a tour of inspection of agricultural conditions

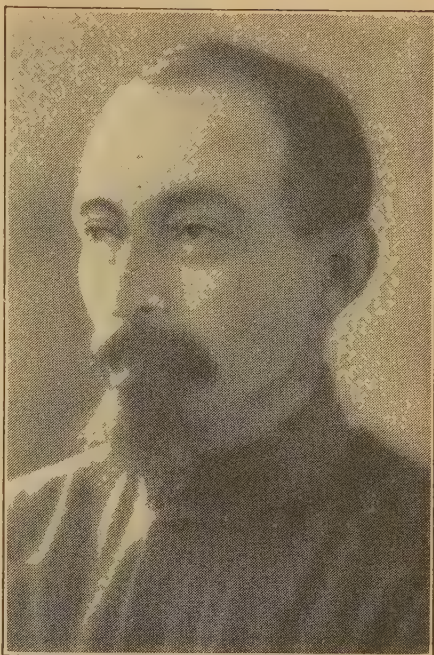


congresses; but, in practice, the situation seems to be quite different. According to a dispatch of Jan. 2, Kalinin, President of the Union of Soviet Republics, had signed a decree instructing the central executives of the republics in the Union to cancel all elections and to control strictly the new elections of Soviets in all places where recent balloting had unsatisfactory results; that is to say, where the electors who were not "class conscious" had elected representatives of whom the Communist authorities could not approve.

Marxian principles included a declaration against religion, and Communist leaders in Russia sought from the beginning to eradicate religious faith. During the past holiday season, their anti-religious purpose drew special notice. Though the Soviet Government did not recognize Christmas, news from Moscow indicated that all official and commercial activity ceased on that day. The famous shrine, the chapel of the Iberian Virgin, was crowded with worshippers. In the villages, the peasants followed the Gregorian calendar and celebrated Jan. 7 as Christmas Day. A very significant statement came from the pen of Zinoviev, head of the Third International, on Dec. 24. Zinoviev said:

We shall pursue our attacks on Almighty God in due time and in an appropriate manner. \* \* \* We shall fight Him wherever He hides himself, but we must go about such a question as anti-religious propaganda more carefully in the future. I have been informed by old workmen that not only the young Communists, but Boy Scouts are mocking people who are religious. \* \* \* This is a mistake. Our campaign against God and religion must be carried out only in a pedagogic way, not by violence or force.

Evidently, Communist methods for destroying Christian faith had not produced the desired results; milder tactics were to be tried. But toward Zionists, who combined with their Jewish orthodoxy political convictions hostile to communism, the policy of violence and force was still employed. The Jewish Telegraphic Agency reported on Dec. 30 that a large number of Zionists had



FELIX EDMUNDEVITCH DZERZHINSKY  
Head of the Council of National Economy of  
Soviet Russia; formerly Chief of the Cheka

already been exiled to Siberia and that fifty-one were being kept in jail at Kharkov, South Russia, until they could be sent into exile. The Soviet press reported on Jan. 5 that the Cheka at Kiev, South Russia, had arrested thirty monks of the Pecherski monastery after spies had discovered treasures valued at 800,000 gold rubles (\$400,000) which the priests had hidden from the Government during the sequestration of church valuables in 1921-1922.

When Great Britain refused a loan to Russia, the Soviet Government had to increase the funds of the State bank by 50,000,000 rubles and assign a special reserve fund of 40,000,000 rubles to finance imports. Sokolnikov, Commissar of Finance, declared on Dec. 20 that the Government could do this without resorting to an issue of currency because it possessed enough gold in reserve, accumulated from exports. He declared that the financial situation in Soviet

Russia was steadily getting better and that the Government would soon be in position to import grain so as to regulate prices in the domestic market. He insisted that such a move was not necessary because of any actual shortage of supply for the districts where crops failed last Summer. The Government, however, did authorize the State Sugar Trust to import 8,000,000 poods of sugar on account of the failure of the beet crop.

During the past month, the Soviet leaders reacted to the advent of the Conservative Government in England as might have been expected. *Izvestia*, official organ of the Soviet, declared on Dec. 23:

The English Conservative Government is agitating against the Soviet Government whenever it can. England has succeeded in uniting the Governments of Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia into a Balkan union against Bolshevism. \* \* \* She is also endeavoring to unite Finland, Esthonia and Latvia into a Baltic league, which will have Sweden's support. Further, she has succeeded in promoting

friendship between Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Poland. It is easy to see that England is preparing a widespread offensive against the Soviet Government.

The Communists viewed Germany's appointment of a new Ambassador to the United States as an indication that Germany was tending to disregard the interests of Soviet Russia. Karl Radek, in a published statement, warned Germany that the time might come when it must lean on Soviet Russia.

Tchitcherin, Commissar of Foreign Affairs, informed the American Department of State on Dec. 11 that the United States Coast Guard vessel *Bear* had trespassed in Russian waters and placed upon Soviet territory [Cape Pesino, Siberia] a plate bearing the inscription: "United States Geodetic Station. For disturbing this plate \$250 fine or imprisonment." Tchitcherin considered this a "threat to Soviet citizens" and a "gross violation of the sovereignty of the Soviet republics." He said that such an act, if repeated, would be "sternly repressed by the Soviet Government."

## Nations of Northern Europe

### Finland

THE President on Dec. 2 authorized the Finnish Minister to France to sign on behalf of Finland the protocol of the League of Nations concerning the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

A conference of experts was held in Helsingfors on Dec. 10 to elaborate the draft of a treaty between all the Baltic States, including Poland, which should provide for arbitration of their disputes upon the basis of mutual obligation.

### Latvia

THE Latvian Cabinet of Ministers, headed by V. Zamuels, resigned on Dec. 2. The new Ministry, formed on Dec. 16, by Mr. Hugo Celmins, former

Minister of Agriculture, was composed of the following members drawn from the Moderate Peasants' Union and the Democratic Centre and some non-partisan sources:

MR. CELMINS, "Minister President" (Premier)—Agriculture.

MR. MEIEROVICS—Foreign Affairs.

MR. LAIMINS—Interior.

MR. BLUMBERGS—Finance.

COLONEL BANGERSKIS—War.

MR. PRIPOVSKIS—Justice.

MR. PAULUKS—Communication.

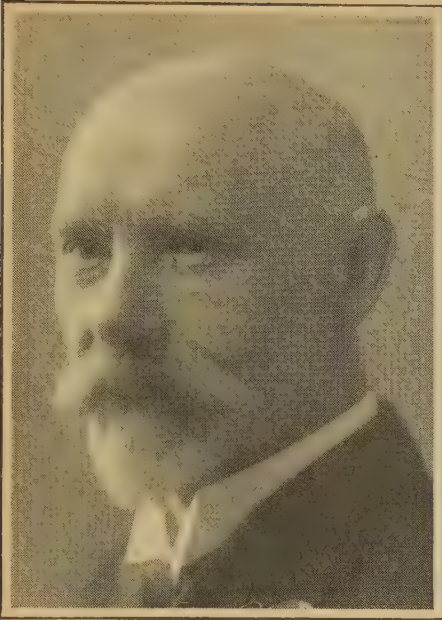
PROFESSOR FELSBERGS—Education.

MR. KRIEVINS—Labor.

MR. DZENIS—Assistant Minister of the Interior.

The resignation of the old Cabinet, which had rested upon a coalition of the Democratic Centre and Social Democratic Party of the Left, was explained





JAN CHAKSTE  
President of the Latvian Republic

as a result of divergencies which had weakened the coalition in the Saima (Parliament).

The Saima passed a law on Dec. 9 to place rather severe regulations upon the sale and public use of alcoholic liquors.

## Esthonia

THE Esthonian Government formally charged Soviet Russia with having engineered the Communist uprising at Reval. Foreign Minister Pusta stated to the press that the Soviet Government in Moscow had supplied arms, ammunition and a sum of 10,000,000 Esthonian marks to engineer the uprising. He announced that Esthonia would submit to the League of Nations documentary evidence to prove the complicity of the Soviet. In the Moscow Pravda Zinoviev declared: "The Esthonian Government is a band of cut-throats. \* \* \* The

time will come when the Esthonian Government will pay dearly for what it did to the Communists."

The President and Prime Minister of Esthonia, Dr. Akel, resigned a few days after the uprising at Reval. A dispatch from Riga in Latvia stated that Akel resigned because of illness, partly the result of his experiences on Dec. 1, when the Communists chased him with bombs, revolvers and rifles through the hastily barricaded rooms of his residence. From another source it was reported that Akel's Ministry resigned to satisfy a general desire to have a Government backed by the majority of the State Assembly. The new Government was constructed by Mr. Jüri Jaakson, National Democrat, upon a coalition of all the major parties: Agrarian, Democratic Bloc, Labor and Social Democratic. The new Ministry was made up as follows:

KARL PUSTA (retaining his post, outside of parties)—Foreign Affairs.

KARL EINHUND, Agrarian—Interior.

GENERAL JAAN SOOTS, Agrarian—War.

AUGUST KEREM, National Democrat (retaining his post)—Agriculture.

KARL WIRMA, Social Democrat—Ways and Communications.

CHRISTIAN KAARNA, Christian Democrat (retaining his post)—Labor and Social Welfare.

HUGO RAHAMAGI, Christian Democrat (retaining his post)—Public Education.

RUDOLF GABREL (retaining his post, outside of parties)—Justice.

LEO SEPP (outside of parties)—Finance.

KARL AST, Social Democrat—Minister without portfolio.

The new President, Jaakson, declared before the Esthonian Parliament that the new Government would seek to enlarge the alliance between Esthonia and Latvia so as to include all the Baltic States and Poland. This alliance would not be aggressive, but would strive to maintain peace in Eastern Europe. Obviously, it was to make more secure the position of the small States on the border of Soviet Russia.

A. B. D.

# Other Nations Europe

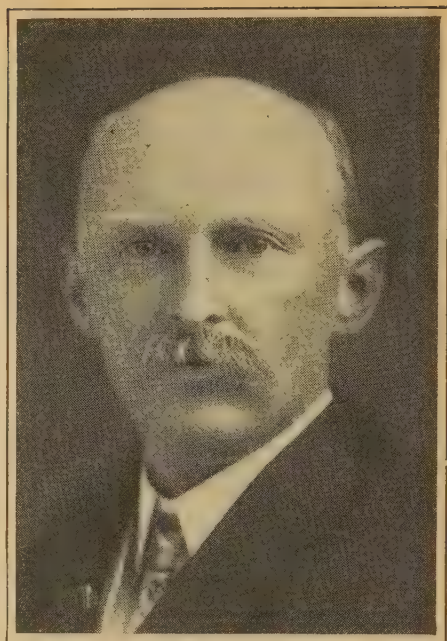
By JOHN MARTIN VINCENT

Professor of European History,  
Johns Hopkins University

## Spain

THE Spanish campaign in Morocco, it was clear at the end of 1921, had by no means reached a peaceful conclusion. General de Rivera had brought back the remains of his army to the northwest corner of the Spanish possessions and proposed to maintain a line of posts between Tetuan and Tangier. This, it was believed, would probably follow one of the few usable roads in Morocco and make connection possible between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. But this is only a tenth part of the disputed Spanish territory and covers but the tip of the peninsula, which reaches up to the straits of Gibraltar. It was thought that the fortified port of Mellila, which is near the western end of the Mediterranean coast line, might be able to hold out; but that this was not likely to have much effect on the back country. It was to this port that part of the retreat was effected and accounts have been received of the joy with which the native troops were received by the inhabitants and the authorities.

Elaborate plans were announced as to the future government of Morocco. In future the tribes were to be ruled by their chiefs under the inspection of resident Spanish officials, and General de Rivera issued a vigorous proclamation in which he deplored the pessimistic views given out by certain persons tending to depreciate the work of a brave army and to demoralize its further



JOHN MARTIN VINCENT  
Professor of European History in Johns  
Hopkins University, who has joined the Board  
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activity. He directed his officers to punish even with death any of these detractors in their commands. Later dispatches, however, indicated that the army headquarters had been moved back from Tetuan to Ceuta, which is nearly opposite Gibraltar, and that the Spanish might not be able to hold even the Tangier line which they had mapped out. The proposed new plans for government were not to go into effect until the tribes should be thoroughly subjugated, which meant a considerable postponement, judging by the attitude of the victorious Moslems.

Abd-el-Kr'im, the leader of the rebellious tribesmen, on Dec. 28, issued a proclamation to the tribesmen in which he summarized the situation from the Moroccan standpoint and declared that conditions must be imposed upon Spain as upon a "humiliated nation" which must be thrown back to its proper shores. The nature of the future contest may be seen in the text of this declaration, which read as follows:

Our enemies have been spreading reports of



peace negotiations between Spain and the Riff Republic. This is not the exact truth. Since the formulation of the existing Government of this nation a year ago, Spain has not ceased sending emissaries to treat with us. But we have repelled them with contempt, telling the Government and nation with whom we are fighting that we cannot deal with them on equal terms since we are the victors and they are the vanquished.

Therefore, we Islamite warriors must impose conditions which, in the event they are not accepted, will mean a continuance of the war until not an inch of Moroccan territory is profaned by Spanish feet and we have thrown the Spaniards back to the shores of Andalusia. The conditions we impose upon the vanquished and humiliated nation, thanks to your valor and constancy and the protection of Allah, are those decided by you in the meeting of the tribal chieftains. We will not change these conditions. They are:

Recognition of the Republic of the Riff, whose frontiers will be formed by the mouth of the River Kert and the River Marti, in which territory not a single Spanish position may remain nor warships of the vanquished nation exercise vigilance along the coast; Spain must agree not to engage Mussulman troops, transferring those in the service here to the orders of the Government of the Riff Republic; delivery of all Moroccan prisoners without ransom, at the same time paying a heavy sum for the ransom of Spanish prisoners we captured during the last glorious campaign, in which our traditional enemy lost more men and material and suffered more humiliation than three years ago.

The Riff Republic is being talked about in the entire world's press. It possesses more than 50,000 warriors and a profusion of rifles, while shortly it will possess several millions for ransoms. In addition, it will have material of every kind taken from Spain, besides money paid by that country for permission to evacuate numerous possessions in Jebala. With these resources we shall acquire anti-aircraft guns, more motor boats and other elements.

In Spain a certain satisfaction was felt in the reduction of the size of the army in Morocco. When General de Rivera took charge, there were 146,000 troops in the Spanish possessions. There followed a large list of casualties and in view of the shorter line of defense a further reduction was effected by discharge, leaving a total of 105,000 men. From all accounts the retreat was

a torture and the losses cruel. One regiment which went in with 2,000 men was sent home for Christmas with 600 survivors.

The books and pamphlets of Blasco Ibáñez, charging all the evils of Spain to King Alfonso, continued to occupy public attention. Some of these writings were scattered by airplane deep into the confines of Spain and, in spite of governmental protest, were published in several foreign countries. Various prominent personages challenged Ibáñez to retract or meet them on the dueling ground. The Government would undoubtedly avoid complications by refusing passports to such challengers. The Government's attitude was shown by an official summons made public to the following effect:

Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, lately domiciled in Valencia, is hereby summoned to appear within fifteen days from the publication of this edict, before a military judge, whose official residence is Gale Goya No. 36, for the purpose of giving testimony regarding the case which Joaquín Martínez Frieria, captain of cavalry, is investigating, dealing with the seizure of a pamphlet written in Spanish and entitled "A Nation Seized: The Militaristic Terror in Spain."

The author naturally declined to comply and replied with vigorous utterances on the condition of things in Spain. In Madrid a demonstration was set on foot intended to counteract the revolutionary tendencies of the writings of Ibáñez. Several pamphlets were issued, one entitled "Enemies of the King," and another "The Writer Who Sold His Country." Ibáñez was accused of being in the pay of the Russian Soviets. Furthermore, his works were to be publicly burned on New Year's Eve. The posters which called for this bonfire read:

On New Year's Eve there will be an *auto da fe* with the books of the miserable scribbler Ibáñez. We are ransacking the bookshops for all unsold copies and invite everybody having a copy to bring his novels and throw them on the fire on the Castellana Promenade at the foot of the statue of that beacon of Spanish thought, Emile Castelar.

Owing to censorship, the actual reaction of the people in this episode was difficult to establish, but two things seemed to be clear, that the sharp personalities of Ibáñez's indictment were causing the royalists to rally to the support of the King, while the persecution of the author and his works was giving a greater publicity to conditions than the Government liked.

As the result of a complaint made by the Spanish Ambassador in Paris under a French law relating to "outrages against foreign sovereigns committed on French territory," Ibáñez, who was staying at Mentone, was, with the publisher and translator of the book on King Alfonso, summoned to appear before an Examining Magistrate in Paris.

## Portugal

THE Parliament of Portugal on Dec. 2 proceeded to the election of presiding officers, and Senhor Domingos Pereira was chosen President of the Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 101 to 12. Senhor Correia Barreto was re-elected President of the Senate. The Minister for the Colonies requested the Chamber to appoint a parliamentary commission to inquire into the administration of Angola, West Africa, under the late High Commissioner of that colony, General Norton de Mattos, now Portuguese Ambassador in London.

The Portuguese people celebrated in December the four hundredth anniversary of the death of Vasco da Gama, the great explorer. The warships of the great maritime nations, including the United States, were invited to assemble in the river Tagus at Lisbon to do honor to the discoverer of the Cape of Good Hope and the sea route to India. The great explorer was rewarded in his own time by titles of nobility and the confidence of his sovereign. After a retirement of twenty years he was made Viceroy of India in 1524 and died there the same year. The great colonial empire of Portugal is now to a great extent but a splendid memory of the past.

## Holland

A MATTER of great interest to the world at large was the opening of a new museum of art and archaeology at The Hague. The building was erected at the expense of M. Luncingh Scheurleer, a well-known banker, chiefly for educational purposes. The contents include M. Scheurleer's own collection of ancient Greek art and sculpture and Professor von Bissing's collection of Egyptian art—both are so-called serial collections—and M. van der Heydt's collection of ancient East Asiatic art. Altogether there are about 20,000 objects. The van der Heydt collection, which includes the Raphael-Petrucci collection, is considered the most important private collection of East Asiatic art in Europe, and all the objects, including several statues of Buddha and animals of large size, are of great value. The von Bissing collection has a history of its own. Herr von Bissing, who for many years worked in the Cairo Museum, took part in British researches in Egypt. His collection served mainly as material for study at Munich and was nearly destroyed during the Bavarian revolution. Professor von Bissing was forced to leave Munich, and the objects composing the collection were hurriedly hidden in farms, with the assistance of a workman. A Dutch friend and the Dutch Government helped the professor to bring the collection to Holland.

On Jan. 4 was celebrated at Leyden the 350th anniversary of the founding of the university. As a reward to the heroic citizens who had endured untold sufferings in the long siege in the war with Spain in 1574, William the Silent laid the foundations of what became almost at once and for centuries afterward one of the most distinguished seats of learning. The ceremonies included the conferring of the degree of Doctor of Laws upon Queen Wilhelmina, who will appear before the academic senate on Feb. 5 for the final act of promotion. The Senate also caused a wreath to be placed on the tomb of Hugo Grotius, the most distinguished of Dutch jurists, whose book on interna-



tional law, "The Rights of War and Peace," appeared just 300 years ago. In 1619 Grotius was condemned by his own countrymen to perpetual imprisonment and confiscation of property on account of his religious and political opinions, but escaped to France and acquired greatness on foreign soil.

The Amsterdam correspondent of The Chicago Daily News under date of Jan. 2, gave the result of his inquiries regarding the effect upon Holland of the proposed English naval base at Singapore. Of the unsolved problems left over from last year, that of the Pacific is the most important to be faced. It is realized that the vital interests of the Dutch overseas possessions are concerned in a favorable solution of this. About a year ago the Far East Navy bill was defeated in the second chamber. A fresh bill, slightly revised, already voted for by the Indian People's Council by a majority of one vote, will soon be discussed by The Hague Parliament. At the same time the Singapore spectre will reappear, as the resumption of the naval base scheme of England is causing uneasiness in the Netherlands.

A recent item in a British newspaper, announcing the possible construction of naval bases virtually in the middle of the Dutch archipelago, was of great interest for Holland. The scene of eventual hostilities might be the Dutch territorial waters, and a war base at Singapore would, it was believed, attract the fleets of the belligerents like moths drawn to candlelight.

Although there were rumors of the possibility in the near future of a Dutch and English naval agreement over the Far East, it would appear that the Dutch Government has no intention of entering into conversation on the matter with the British Cabinet. The defense of the neutrality of the East Indies in case of war is the only object of Dutch policy. The naval bill to be discussed in the coming year was designed to put Holland in a position to defend her colonies. The financial resources of the mother country and her colonies prevent the Dutch Empire from

having a military system on a large scale. Moreover, the United States, Great Britain, Japan and France in 1922 gave a moral guarantee of respect for Dutch neutrality in the East Indies.

## Denmark

THE Danish Disarmament bill came up for discussion in December. The Foreign Minister, Count Moltke, declined to discuss questions of policy in public, but expanded upon the obligations of smaller nations as members of the League of Nations. The bill provides for the abolition of conscription and with it the abolition of both army and navy, their places to be taken by a corps of 7,000 frontier guards and a number of armed vessels for policing Danish waters. If this change is made it is expected that the cost of these two forces will be reduced from about \$11,000,000 to \$2,000,000.

The accounts of the Danish State railways for the year 1924 again showed a deficit. As in some other countries, it was declared that the motor car was killing the railroads. A recent census showed that Denmark had about 64,000 automobiles, some 80 per cent. of which were of American manufacture.

The attention of the British Foreign Office has been called to the forcible arrest and detention of an English fishing vessel in Iceland charged with fishing within the three-mile limit. Though the skipper emphatically denied this, he was arrested at a port where he had taken refuge from bad weather, fined 30,000 kroner, sentenced to three months' imprisonment, and on appeal to a higher court obliged to give bail of 51,000 kroner for his appearance before he could bring his ship back to Hull.

## Norway

WHEN the City of Christiania, on Jan. 1, changed its name to Oslo, its people were harking back over three hundred years of their history. This resumption by Norway's capital of its ancient name was recently decided by a vote of Parliament (the Storting).

Oslo, founded in 1048, enjoyed six centuries of fluctuating growth; in 1624, when the City of Oslo was the centre of all Norwegian activities, a great fire swept the city. The Dano-Norwegian King Christian IV. built a substitute capital adjacent to the ruins and called it Christiania.

An interesting contrast to the historic memories awakened by Christiania's change of name was the news contained in a cablegram of Jan. 7 to the effect that radio had gained such a foothold in Norway that the Government had decided to broadcast for the public all debates held in Parliament.

Norway, like some other countries, has its prohibition troubles. A liquor scandal was reported from Christiania (Oslo), involving more than a hundred duggists as well as prominent people. It also was alleged that evidence existed against Cabinet Ministers and members of Parliament as illegal buyers of liquor.

E. W. Beatty, Chairman and President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and F. L. Wanklyn, who recently retired as executive assistant of that company, were decorated by the Norwegian Government with the Order of St. Olaf for signal service in connection with shipping arrangements between Canada and Norway; the decorations were conferred by M. Aubert, Norwegian Consul General to Canada at a dinner at Montreal, Jan. 7, when much enthusiasm was manifested in regard to the growth of a fuller understanding between the two countries, which has been gradually developing in recent years.

Official statistics showed some increase in the number of unemployed in Norway. The figures for the month ending Dec. 10, 1924, were 20,500, as against 16,300 for the previous month.

M. Kjelstrup, a Burgomaster of Christiania, was offered by the League of Nations the post of chairman of the Committee for the Reorganization of the Port of Memel. The Christiania Municipal Council, Dec. 19, granted M. Kjelstrup three years' leave to enable him to accept this offer.

## Sweden

THE reorganization of the Swedish national defenses continued to occupy the attention of the Governments and Parliaments of both Sweden and Denmark. All parties agreed that something must be done toward reduction of armament, but no plan met sufficient support to be adopted. Anxiety was felt over a possible total disarmament in Denmark, for such a condition would endanger the whole Baltic situation and add to the burden of preparedness in Sweden and Scandinavia in general. No political party in Sweden advocated complete disarmament. Opinion was chiefly divided over the amount of expenditure. The present Social-Democratic Government assumed that the election pointed toward the least expensive plan and it was expected that a bill of that character would be presented during the present session.

Another unsettled question was the adhesion of Sweden to the Geneva Protocol, with which the defense problem is intimately connected. M. Branting, in his declaration on assuming the reins of Government, stated that no decision in this important matter could be taken until it was better known to what extent the project would be adopted by other Governments. His Government has appointed a special commission, the members of which are chosen outside party interests, to study and report on the matter. There was a strong feeling in some sections of Parliament that no final decision as to armaments should be taken until this matter was solved.

Notable among diplomatic activities was the signing early in December of a commercial treaty between Sweden and Poland; as a result of this accord, a decided increase in the trade between the two countries was looked for. Sweden to date has been buying feeding stuffs, oil, coal and aspen wood from Poland, and in return sold cream separators, telephones, agricultural and hydroelectric machinery.

The total revenue of the Swedish State during the budget year 1925-6



will amount to \$170,000,000, according to official estimates. The most important sources of these revenues are the taxes on property and personal incomes. The manufacture and distribution of liquor and other manufactures connected therewith will yield the Government a revenue of nearly \$29,000,000, while the tobacco monopoly will yield \$13,400,000, and the taxes on automobiles will reach the record total of \$4,020,000. About \$1,431 for every man, woman and child in the country, or a total of \$8,576,000,000, is the amount of Sweden's present taxable wealth, according to an estimate recently published by a Swedish financial expert. There was an increase during the last sixteen years at an average annual rate of 7.35 per cent.

Among the steps recently taken toward the expansion of commercial air traffic in Sweden were the requests for Government aid in the maintenance of international lines and the construction of an aviation harbor in Malmö. The Aero Transport, Ltd., a Swedish company, which last year operated passenger planes on regular schedule connecting Malmö with Copenhagen and Hamburg, and Stockholm with Helsingfors, Finland, petitioned the Government for a loan without interest of \$469,000 and a direct subsidy of 40 cents for every kilometer flown. The request for the loan was endorsed by the Royal Board of Trade, as well as by various Chambers of Commerce. It was the plan of Aero Transport to start two more lines, namely from Malmö to Oslo (Christiania), Norway, and from Stockholm to Luleå, in addition to the three lines already in operation. The city of Malmö, clearly destined to become the aviation centre of Scandinavia, requested a Government appropriation of \$370,000 for the construction of an up-to-date aviation station with a harbor for hydroairplanes. It was also decided to establish an airplane factory at Malmö.

The general activity in Sweden's industrial world during 1924 was revealed in the annual reports of the

leading industrial corporations. The Grangesberg Company, the biggest iron mining concern in Scandinavia, announced that it would distribute a dividend of 10 per cent. for the year, compared with 5 per cent. for last year.

This followed the report that one of its constituent companies, the Luossavaara-Kirunavaara Company, made a net profit of \$3,886,000 for the fiscal year ended Sept. 30, having exported 4,350,000 tons of iron ore during the year, an increase of 750,000 tons over the exports of the preceding year. In November, 1924, the Grangesberg Company shipped out 531,000 tons of ore, as against 204,000 tons in the same month of 1923. The company, it was stated, had recovered rapidly from the depression caused by the closing of the Ruhr market during the French occupation.

Though the mining activity was said to be satisfactory, the situation in Sweden's iron and steel industry was admitted to be far from favorable. Although the production of pig iron, wrought iron and partly manufactured products was much larger than in 1923, it still fell far below the average for the ten years since 1913, and the prices received were said to be so low that the Association of Swedish Iron Works declared they fell below the cost of production. Exports of iron and steel to the United States had more than doubled and there was an increase in the total exports, but the imports, especially of rails, had also increased.

Unsatisfactory conditions were also indicated in the mechanical and textile industries. The Christmas news from Stockholm was to the effect that two lockouts to begin the first of the year and affecting 69,000 employes had been declared by the Associations of Machine Shop and Textile Industry Employers. This will shut out 40,000 mechanics and 29,000 textile workers, and it was feared that other serious lockouts might follow. This was an outcome of the general move to reduce wages to a level considered by the manufacturers to cor-

respond with the actual conditions of the market.

In connection with the Swedish industries, it is an interesting fact that some of Sweden's coal comes from islands of Spitzbergen, 200 miles north of the Arctic Circle, where some of the days are three and a half months long and some of the nights last two and a half months, and that connection by ship with the outside world is impossible for eight months in the year.

The population of the City of Stockholm increased by 12,000 during 1924 and is now 447,339, according to official statistics recently made public.

A new pulp mill, with a capacity of 30,000 tons annually, is to be built at Pitea, Sweden, by the Ytterstfors-Munksund Company, which owns and oper-

ates ten sawmills in the region. Interesting also in the same field of industry was the news that a new wage agreement for the Swedish pulp workers had been approved and accepted by employers and employes. About two-thirds of the men were given wage increases varying up to 10 per cent., depending on the cost of living in the particular district where the worker was employed.

Sweden presents a mathematical prodigy in the person of Bengt Stroemgren, the sixteen-year-old son of the director of the Copenhagen Observatory, who has written a book on the methods to determine the position of the stars mentioned in the *astronomic Chronicles*, which he began at the age of thirteen. The Swedish Academy of Science has announced its intention to publish the work.

# Turkey and the Near East

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

Professor of History, University of Illinois

FETHI BEY, the new Prime Minister of Turkey, announced his program to the Grand National Assembly at Angora on Nov. 27, and received a unanimous vote of confidence. He adhered in the main to the projects submitted shortly before by his predecessor, Ismet Pasha. He emphasized strongly the need of interesting foreign capital in order to develop trade and public works, and of extending Turkish commerce through the Turkish consular service abroad. He insisted upon the importance of railway construction and the encouragement of agriculture.

The fact that, in spite of the organization of an Opposition party, Fethi Bey received a unanimous vote of confidence caused his Cabinet to be the object of suspicion among the leaders of the predominant Popular Party. General Kiazim Pasha, Minister of Defense in the late Cabinet, was elected presiding

officer of the Assembly in place of Fethi Bey by only 68 votes out of 130. Yussuf Kemal Bey, who was supported by the Opposition, received 45 votes. Discussion showed the intention of the new Cabinet to govern strictly in accordance with the will of the majority of the Assembly.

The commission appointed by the Assembly to inquire into the causes of the decline of Constantinople, and to present recommendations, issued a report. Many of its suggestions depended upon the finding of money, which could hardly be done without a foreign loan.

When the question of the action of Great Britain in Egypt after the assassination of Sir Lee Stack was brought up in the Assembly, the Prime Minister declined to be a party to any criticism of the British. Then and at other times he expressed himself as desirous of a friendly settlement of the Mosul ques-



tion, and of the resumption of good relations with Great Britain. This was particularly interesting at a time when the British Government was distinctly unpopular with large groups in Egypt, Iraq and Persia.

New difficulties presented themselves in the relations between Turkey and Greece. The Greek Holy Synod elected a new Patriarch, Constantine VI. The Turkish civil authorities informed him that he was liable to expulsion from Turkey on account of having come to Constantinople after 1918. It was announced later that the Constantinople authorities proposed to confiscate all real estate belonging to Greeks resident in Turkey, even if they might be lawful Turkish subjects. The ground for the proposal was that the Greeks had been oppressing Moslems in Western Thrace, and had seized the property of Turks removed from other parts of Greece under the Treaty of Lausanne.

The opinion of a British law court regarding the origin of the fire at Smyrna in September, 1922, was recorded in London when judgment was given in an action brought by the American Tobacco Company against the Guardian Assurance Company to recover for losses sustained through the fire. The American company contended that the fire was accidental, while the insurance company claimed it was incendiary. The Court indicated its belief that the Turkish authorities did not deliberately start the fire, but that they failed to replace the Greek police force by proper guard. This left the way open for disorderly groups of Turkish civilians and soldiers to loot and very likely to set fire to buildings. The decision, which was in favor of the insurance company, was expected to have an important bearing upon the claims of persons and corporations that suffered by the fire to the extent of about \$100,000,000.

Announcement was made early in December that the International Commission on the pre-war Ottoman debt had decided that Turkey should pay annually \$29,000,000. The Turks, like all others responsible for a share of this

debt, protested that the amount was unjustly large.

## Egypt

PETITIONS were presented to Ziwar Pasha, the Egyptian Premier, requesting him to convoke the National Parliament, which on Nov. 25 had been suspended for a month. He declined to do this, on the ground that the Ministry had not been able to find "within the limits of its constitutional powers a solution of the grave and dangerous situation which is principally the outcome of the general policy of the previous Cabinet." On Dec. 22 the Cabinet



KING FUAD OF EGYPT

decided to dissolve Parliament, and next day King Fuad issued the decree of dissolution. Electors were to be chosen on Jan. 20, the Deputies elected on Feb. 24, and the new Chamber convened on March 6. In the Premier's letter to the King he stated that the existing Parliament was entirely dominated by the Wafd (Delegation) Party, and that its policies were such that quiet discussion and a satisfactory settlement with England were impossible.

The election campaign opened vigorously. Three parties came actively into the field. The Wafd Party, which carried the election almost unanimously a year ago, continued to support the Nationalist leader, Saad Pasha Zaghlul. The name of this party, which means delegation, derived its significance from the group which visited the Peace Conference in the interest of Egyptian independence. Zaghlul Pasha was at a great disadvantage, not only because of

his age and his numerous enemies, but also because in Egypt, as throughout the Near East, Governments were supposed to exert an undue influence upon elections. Early in December Ismail Sidky Pasha was appointed Minister of the Interior. A man of great capacity and intelligence, he had had long experience in public affairs. He was said to have instructed minor officials throughout Egypt to assist candidates who were in opposition to the Wafd. He issued orders that no students should be permitted to take any part in the campaign unless they were voters. This was a distinct blow at Zaghlul Pasha, who had made great use of students as leaders and agitators. Predictions were freely made that Zaghlul Pasha would be defeated.

Sober-minded Egyptians hoped for a settlement with Great Britain on the basis of a treaty of alliance. They desired that no British garrisons



P. & A. Photos

A British and an Egyptian soldier (typical of the troops in the Sudan) spending some of their leisure riding donkeys





P. &amp; A. Photos

LORD ALLENBY  
British High Commissioner in Egypt

should reside in Cairo or Alexandria. Recognizing, however, the great importance to England of the route through the Suez Canal, they were willing that Britain should keep troops near the Canal. They realized that the British determination to defend Egypt was distinctly to their advantage. As regards the protection of minorities and foreigners in Egypt, they believed themselves fully capable of accomplishing this. Moreover, they pointed out that foreigners had still many special privileges under the Capitulations. As regards the Sudan, they felt that its control was more vitally important to them than the Suez Canal could possibly be to Great Britain. If the canal should be destroyed, Britain had another route around Africa. If the waters of the Nile were withheld from Egypt, the country must cease to exist.

British opinion did not look with favor upon the restriction of the British garrison to the banks of the canal. The supply of fresh water would then have

to be drawn from the Nile, which would be under Egyptian control. It was not to be expected that Britain would take water from the Nile in the Sudan to such an extent as to ruin Egypt. If no other reason existed, the extensive British investments in Egypt must be protected. Great Britain was said to desire to obtain from Abyssinia control of the upper waters of the Blue Nile, exchanging therefor an outlet through British Somaliland. This would have the additional advantage of diverting Abyssinian trade from the French port of Djibouti. The appointment of Sir Geoffrey Archer as Governor General of the Sudan pointed in the same direction, as he had served many years in Somaliland and Uganda. It was interesting to observe that his appointment was made by the King of Egypt. Thus the form of the condominium of Great Britain and Egypt in the Sudan was maintained, whatever might be true of the actual control.

Lord Allenby on Dec. 3 received audience from King Fuad and presented to him Neville M. Henderson, who had been appointed Counselor to the High Commissioner of Egypt, with the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary, and who had been in the British diplomatic service for twenty years, being British Chargé d'Affaires in Constantinople during much of the previous three years. Whether this meant that Lord Cromer has again a successor in the subtle control of Egypt by Great Britain remained to be seen.

The persons arrested in connection with the murder of Sir Lee Stack were gradually liberated. It did not appear from press dispatches that any one of the actual assassins had been found. The Egyptian Government renewed for six months the appointment of Sir Maurice Amos as judicial adviser. The unusually short period of renewal of appointment was due to the fact that Sir Maurice desired to resign, but agreed to stay six months on account of existing conditions.

On Dec. 3 a court-martial at Khartum sentenced to death four officers of

the Eleventh Sudanese Battalion who had participated in the mutiny on Nov. 27. The sentence of one was commuted to fifteen years' imprisonment. The three others were shot on the morning of Dec. 5.

Howard Carter, who in November, 1922, while engaged in archaeological work under a concession obtained by the late Earl of Carnarvon, discovered the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen, has signed an agreement with the Egyptian Government to resume work at the tomb. Last February, after the work had come very near to opening the actual sarcophagus of the Pharaoh, disputes arose as regards the persons who might enter the tomb and the press rights of publication, with the result that the tomb was sealed up and appeal was had to the courts. It was now understood that Mr. Carter would work independently of the trustees of Lord Carnarvon's estate, and that there would be no exclusive press rights.

## Palestine

THE exchange of visits in 1922 and 1924 between the French High Commissioner for Syria and the British High Commissioner for Palestine was considered to look toward cooperation in the administration of the two "mandates." The ease of transit of persons and goods across the frontier has gradually been increased, and there has been talk of a railway from Haifa to Beirut, which might be extended in both directions so as to link up the entire Syrian-Palestine coast.

A report of the Department of Education of the Palestine Government indicated gradual but definite progress. The total number of schools in the country was 711, with 2,373 teachers and 53,467 pupils. The Government conducted 314 of the schools, with 672 teachers and 19,331 pupils. Boy Scouts and Girl Guides constituted movements which were spreading rapidly, and ath-



The Damascus Gate, the best preserved of the gates of Jerusalem





Publishers' Photo Service

Some of the excellent new roads made by the British on the way from Jerusalem to Tiberias

letics was being encouraged in the schools. The number of trained native teachers was steadily increasing.

The Institute of Jewish Studies was opened at Jerusalem on Dec. 22 in connection with the new Hebrew University, 110 students being enrolled at the outset. The rules provide that instruction should be free, but that lectures should be delivered only in Hebrew. Courses were offered in Jewish theology, Hebrew and kindred languages, and Jewish literature, history, law and philosophy.

## Iraq

**E**LECTIONS have begun for the first Parliament of Iraq. The election is by two stages. Every male citizen over 20 votes at the first election, provided he pays taxes and is free from usual disabilities. Every two hundred and fifty men choose a secondary elector. Eighty of these choose a Deputy, who thus represents 20,000 male adults. Parliament must include at least four Christian and four Jewish members. The Shiah were said to be participating actively in the campaign. The active People's Party was opposed to British influence.

All Turkish forces were withdrawn behind the lines agreed upon at Brus-

sels, which corresponded to the true frontier of the Mosul vilayet. This left a large portion of the Assyrians who fled before the Turk again adrift.

## Arabia

**A**CTIVE warfare between "King" Ali and Sultan Ibn Saud remained suspended. There were rumors of negotiations between Arabs, Turks and Englishmen. As long as the followers of Mustapha Kemal and Ibn Saud had no common frontier it was easy for them to work in harmony. It was claimed that officers from Angora had trained the Wahabite troops, and that Ibn Saud's victory over ex-King Hussein was really a Turkish victory, and constituted the realization of a desire for revenge, because Hussein fought on the side of the enemies of Turkey. It was also reported that Imam Yahya of Yemen was still flying the Turkish flag and that Turkish officers retained commands in his army. It was perhaps the case that Turkey in defeat enjoyed more prestige and influence in Central and Southern Arabia than was ever the case when Turkey was successful and victorious. A French writer hinted that an immense network of Turkish intrigue extended over the whole Orient, tending

toward the integral reconstitution of the pre-war Ottoman Empire.

## Persia

THE Persian Prime Minister, Riza Khan, after planning a campaign against the Sheik of Mohammerah, went himself to the south. Anger arose in the capital because of a report that Riza Khan was planning to arrange a settlement with Sheik Khazal through the mediation of the British Minister, Sir Percy Loraine. A secret session of the Parliament was called to discuss the matter. The Governor of Teheran explained the situation to Riza Khan by telegraph and the latter replied with a vigorous contradiction of the report. He stated that he would seek advice from nobody, but would act in whatever way he thought best in the interests of the country, whether in waging war or negotiating peace. Shortly thereafter, on Nov. 20, a telegram was given out in which the Sheik of Mohammerah sur-

rendered to the Prime Minister. Khazal affirmed that he had been led astray by intriguers, who had told him falsely that the Premier was an enemy of his. Now having learned that this was untrue he expressed repentance and promised henceforth to serve the Government faithfully and obey the Prime Minister's orders. Riza Khan accepted this repentance on condition of absolute submission.

The Persian Government agreed to pay \$110,000 to the United States for the cost of bringing the remains of Vice Consul Imbrie to Washington. In reply to the note which Secretary Hughes sent early in November; proposing that this sum be made a trust fund for the education of Persian students in institutions of higher learning in the United States, the Persian Government sent a note to say that the Minister of Finance would "pay the money in any manner that is feasible," and that Persia appreciated the educational proposal as an evidence of the good-will of the United States Government.



A Teheran school teacher and his pupils



# The Far East

By PAYSON J. TREAT

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## China

EVER since Marshal Tuan Chi-jui assumed the office of Chief Executive at Peking on Nov. 24 China has been seething with rumors and alarms. The first reports indicated that the Christian General, Feng Yu-hsiang, had resigned his command and was about to go abroad. But soon it was evident that the proffered resignations were not to be taken seriously, and General Feng remained a military figure to be reckoned with. Then reports of ill-feeling between General Feng and General Chang of Manchuria were rife. Feng's betrayal in October of his former chief, Wu Pei-fu, made him an uncertain factor in the new combination. When, early on the morning of Dec. 2, General Chang with his staff left Peking for Tientsin, and soon after withdrew most of his troops to the latter city, the first inference was that he feared an attack from Feng's superior forces. General Chang, however, stated that he had left Peking because he wished to allow Chief Executive Tuan a free hand. In the meantime Sun Yat-sen arrived at Tientsin on Dec. 4, but serious illness delayed his departure for Peking. On Dec. 31 he reached the capital, a very sick man.

The reorganization of the Peking Government proceeded apace. Place-men of the Chihli Party were ousted, in some cases imprisoned, and some were summarily shot. Such was the fate of Li Yen-ching, Treasurer in the former President's household, and of the recent chief of the Peking gendarmerie. Members of Parliament who were accused of accepting bribes were arrested. It was soon reported that the Government proposed to abolish Parliament and the provisional and permanent Constitutions. On Dec. 24, a Presidential

mandate was issued covering regulations for calling a national reorganization conference, which, in turn, would make provisions for a citizens' conference to devise a new permanent Government for China. The personnel of the reorganization or rehabilitation conference was to be entirely militaristic, parliamentarians, educators, merchants and bankers being barred.

On Dec. 9 the powers signatory to the Washington treaties had assured the Provisional Government of their support and recognition on condition that all engagements entered into by the preceding Chinese Governments with them be recognized. This assurance was formally given on Dec. 24.

Marshal Wu Pei-fu, who had proceeded by sea from the Northern front to the Yangtze, failed to receive the support he hoped for from the Yangtze Generals. On Dec. 2 he was driven out of his old headquarters, Loyang, in Honan.

Instead of the Yangtze militarists uniting to drive Tuan, Feng and Chang out of Peking, steps were taken by the latter to oust the hostile war lords from their provinces. General Lu Yung-hsiang, the former Tuchun of Chekiang, who was driven out by Tuchun Chi Hsieh-yuan of Kiangsu at the beginning of the recent civil war, returned from Japan when his old chief, Tuan Chi-jui, became Chief Executive. On Dec. 12 he was appointed "Pacification Commissioner" for Kiangsu and Anhui, in place of Marshal Chi. With Manchurian troops supplied by Marshal Chang Tso-lin he advanced toward the Yangtze. On Dec. 31 it was reported that Kiangsu troops had mutinied, withdrawn from the front and fired the native city of Nanking, capital of the province. Marshal Chi, it was reported, had fled to Shanghai, and American

marines were landed to protect the foreign quarter. Late in December fighting also began in an attempt to drive out General Sun Chuan-fang, military Governor of Chekiang Province.

Fighting broke out south of Shanghai on Jan. 11 and the following day Chang Yuan-ming, the Peking Defense Commissioner, fled and Marshal Chi Hsieh-yuan, ex-Tuchun of Nanking, was virtually in possession of the district. Chi, according to the dispatches conveying the news of the fighting, had been biding his time, and large numbers of his old division, the Sixth, had followed him to Shanghai from Nanking. Opportunity for action presented itself in the defeat of Chen Yao-san, commanding the Fourth Division, who had been ordered by the Anfu party to attack Sun Chuan-fang. The vast profit accruing from opium smuggling in Kiangsu and Chekiang was said to be an important element in the Anfu campaign, Chang Yuan-ming being credibly reported to have made \$1,000,000 from this source in the previous three months.

A mandate was issued in Peking on Jan. 2 granting amnesty to all political offenders except Tsao Kun, who was ordered placed on trial, and members of Parliament who accepted bribes in the last Presidential election.

The American women missionaries who were captured by bandits at Juchow, Honan, on Nov. 27, escaped some days later. On Dec. 6, forty-eight Chinese teachers and students of Canton Christian College were kidnapped from a launch flying the American flag while en route from Canton to the college. A foreign woman and several Chinese girls were sent back with the launch, while the teachers and boy students were taken away for ransom. The demands of the bandits were refused, and Chinese troops succeeded in effecting the release of all the victims. Three American priests and two nuns were taken by bandits near Hankow on the 7th, but released after being robbed.

Troops at Kalgan, 100 miles northwest of Peking, on the 16th, mutinied and started to loot the city. An incen-



International

A group of Chinese girl students at a political meeting

diary fire destroyed half the houses and shops. A strong military force finally restored order, and it was later announced that 489 of the mutineers had been executed. Kalgan had suffered greatly during the floods in July.

A student strike closed the College of Yale in China, at Changsha, Hunan, on Dec. 21. The students objected to compulsory Bible study. Later they appealed to the Hunan Provincial Assembly and the Hunan Educational Board for transfer to the National Southeastern University at Nanking. This incident, with other criticisms of American-sup-



ported schools, was explained as a result of extensive Bolshevik propaganda in China. A small detachment of United States marines was landed at Nanking on Jan. 1 to patrol the streets in the vicinity of Nanking University.

## Japan

THE opening of the United States Congress and the approaching session of the Japanese Imperial Diet were the occasion for war propagandists in both countries to rouse suspicion and distrust. In both instances the advocates of naval and military expansion (or preparedness), either directly or by innuendo, pointed to the other nation as the most likely foe. According to a statement of Premier Kato on Dec. 23, the efforts of President Coolidge and Secretary Hughes to counteract the anti-Japanese propaganda were keenly appreciated in Japan. Similar steps to quiet the Japanese jingoes were taken by Foreign Minister Shidehara.

The appointment of Tsuneo Matsudaira as Ambassador to Washington was the subject of a statement issued on Dec. 18 by Mr. Hughes in which he said: "Not only is Mr. Matsudaira a diplomat of most distinguished service, but Japan has paid us a signal honor in selecting as her Ambassador to this post a man who through himself and his wife represents two of the most important historically famous families of the empire." The new Ambassador was in 1918-19 Japanese High Commissioner in Siberia, in 1921-2 he was Chief Secretary of the Japanese delegation to the Washington Conference, and he has been Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs in the last three Cabinets.

The United States and Japanese War Departments have arranged for the exchange of language officers for a period of six months, American officers on language detail in Tokio being attached to a Japanese organization, and vice versa.

After assembling in December, the Imperial Diet adjourned until after the New Year. The Kato Cabinet continued to be supported by a coalition of three of the political parties, whose leaders were working together. Nevertheless, the position of the Cabinet was subject to the usual disadvantages of a coalition.

Under the plans for army reorganization four divisions, comprising 40,000 soldiers, are to be dismissed in May. The units involved include sixteen infantry, four cavalry, four artillery and four engineering regiments, and four engineering and four transport battalions. The one-year compulsory service is to be reduced to four months and the two-year term to sixteen months.

The national debt of Japan increased 46,000,000 yen in November to a total of 4,237,000,000 yen. Of this amount 2,723,000,000 yen represented domestic loans.

A dispatch from Tokio dated Dec. 31 stated that Japan had an advance trade balance for the year of about 700,000,000 yen and a total foreign trade of 4,500,000,000 yen. The yen exchange has shrunk a fifth in the year. Unemployment had increased and social unrest was becoming acute. While emigration had increased threefold, the total officially recorded was less than 5,000, against a population increase of 500,000. The main migration was to Brazil, a total of 3,700.

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# International Events

By ROBERT McELROY

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**T**WENTY-THREE nations, including the United States and Germany have already accepted the invitation of the League of Nations to the Disarmament Conference. As a preliminary, the Committee on Coordination has begun to examine the question of the manufacture of arms, munitions and war material. Statistics showed that during 1922 \$42,300,000 value in arms and munitions were declared on clearance papers from twenty-three manufacturing countries, but import statistics accounted for only \$26,900,000 worth. This doubtless meant that the remaining \$15,400,000 had gone to China, Turkey, Morocco, Persia, Central America and other nations which supply no statistics of their imports and which do not themselves manufacture arms.

An item of especial interest during the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations in Rome in December was the sharp issue raised by the report of the Mandate's Commission to which the British League Secretary, Austen Chamberlain, took strong exception. The report with reference to Palestine reads as follows:

The commission has noted that according to the annual report and statements made by the accredited representatives of the mandatory power there has during the last few years been a considerable stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine. This stream of immigration, which comes mainly from the various regions of Eastern Europe, is providing the territory of Palestine with a new population, elements of which, however great their ardor and Zionist zeal and their desire to contribute to the establishment of a Zionist home, are as a general rule not prepared either by technical training or family tradition for the manual, and particularly the agricultural, work which is necessary in the present state of Palestine.

According to Article VI. of the mandate, the administration of Palestine shall facilitate immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage the settlement by Jews on land, including State lands and waste lands,

not required for the public service. These provisions, therefore, make it the duty of the Palestine administration to encourage as well as regulate Jewish immigration into Palestine. The commission is bound to observe that the policy of the mandatory power as regards immigration causes an acute controversy. It does not afford entire satisfaction to the Zionists, who feel that the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jews is the first duty of the mandatory power, and manifest a certain impatience at the restrictions which are placed in the way of immigration and in respect of granting lands to immigrants.

This policy is, on the other hand, rejected by the Arab majority of the country, which refuses to accept the idea of a Jewish national home and regards the action of the administration as a menace to its traditional patriarchy.

A twofold duty is thus imposed on the administration of Palestine by the actual terms of the mandate. It is obvious that if a mandatory power had only to take into consideration the interests of the population, its immigration policy ought to be dictated primarily by consideration of the economic needs of the country. It is moreover equally clear that if a mandatory power had not to take into consideration the interests of the Arab population, and if its sole duty was to encourage Jewish immigration in Palestine, it might be in a position to pursue an agrarian policy which would facilitate and expedite to a greater extent than its present policy the creation of a Jewish national home."

Against these statements Austen Chamberlain protested, saying that he was not quite certain whether the Mandates Commission fully realized the difficult conditions under which the High Commissioner for Palestine had had to fulfill his duties. "To say that the majority of the immigrants into Palestine have not any previous agricultural training," he stated, "is to neglect the wonderful work they have done. I am informed that most of them are competent agriculturists and that those who are not have adapted themselves wonderfully. It is sufficient to consider the development



which tobacco growing is taking there to realize the justice of this assertion. In any case, the higher class of immigrants now pouring into Palestine will help to develop industries which hold out a bright promise for the future." After discussion the council decided to refer the report of the Mandate Commission to the Governments concerned. At the same time it was decided not to take any action on the appeal made by the Arab population of Palestine against the present civil administration of Palestine under the mandate.

#### IRELAND AS LEAGUE MEMBER.

There has been an interesting development of the situation arising out of the British demand that the Anglo-Irish Treaty be not regarded by the League of Nations as an international treaty. It appeared to be the intention of Ireland to insist that the question of her status in the League, and that of all British Dominions, be considered at the next Assembly of the League. Indeed, on Dec. 23, without waiting for an Assembly meeting, she notified Geneva that she entirely dissented from the British view regarding her rights as member of the League. This notice created, as it was designed to create, extraordinary interest, as it was looked upon as the precursor of similar statements which would doubtless come from Canada, South Africa and other parts of the British Empire.

In view of this Irish contention, it was not surprising to find the Filipinos, through their Department of Labor, inquiring of the International Labor Bureau how admission might be gained to the League of Nations.

In the meantime, Great Britain began organizing a Dominion Conference to consider the Protocol. On Dec. 23, telegrams were sent to the Dominions and to the Indian Government asking their views as to the feasibility of holding a special conference on the Protocol. It was hoped that the conference might be held in the near future, but Premier King of Canada was reported not to favor such a conference, believing that

all necessary interchanges of ideas could be accomplished through correspondence.

#### HAS GERMANY DISARMED?

In a note to the Secretariat of the League of Nations, published on Dec. 22, Dr. Gustav Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister, proposed that Germany be allowed to join the League of Nations with special reservations, made necessary by her military weakness and the great relative strength of her neighbors. The only solution which he suggested was to give Germany liberty to say how far she would go in participating in sanctions when international wars broke out. On the same day (Dec. 22) the Supreme Interallied Military Commission met in Paris, Field Marshal Foch presiding, and, although no formal communication was issued after the session, it was reported by The Associated Press that Germany was considered by the commission not yet to have entirely fulfilled all the clauses for disarmament laid down in the Treaty of Versailles. Upon the basis of this inspection, and other evidence, the Allies decided not to evacuate the Cologne bridgehead on Jan. 10, justifying their decision by the fact that the treaty promised the evacuation of Cologne only in case Germany had, by Jan. 10, 1925, fulfilled her obligations. The statement of the British Foreign Office, indicating that Great Britain took this decision at the request of France, read:

The Premier submitted to his colleagues, who approved its terms, a memorandum in which the French Government establishes that information gathered in Germany suffices to show by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles the impossibility of the evacuation of Cologne on Jan. 10. New discoveries of hidden arms made by the Interallied Commission of Control can only have the effect of strengthening the attitude adopted by the French Government.

On the other hand, a dispatch from Berlin, dated Dec. 24, declared that "if the Allies refuse to evacuate Cologne, Germany must refuse to carry out the Dawes plan," and the German Industrial Association went so far, on Dec.

24, as to demand that the German Government annul the London compact and the Dawes plan and break off negotiations for commercial treaties with the Allies if Cologne were not evacuated according to their interpretation of the pledges. On Dec. 26, Premier Herriot declared: "Recent documents sent us by the Commission of Inspection bring revelations which leave no doubt of the importance of armaments hidden in Germany."

The Council of Ambassadors met in Paris on Dec. 27 to consider whether Germany's military status justified the evacuation of the Cologne bridgehead on Jan. 10, and their decision was in the negative. It was their unanimous opinion that Germany was rearming and that withdrawal from the Rhineland must await further investigation. There was, however, a difference of opinion among the Ambassadors as to the importance of Germany's treaty violations and as to how far they constituted a menace to the Allies, the British minimizing them, while the French and Belgians professed to regard them as most serious. The German War Minister, Gessler, on the other hand, indignantly denied the accusations of bad faith and insisted, in a statement on Dec. 27, that the tales of Germany's military preparations were mere empty pretexts. Marshal Foch, in the face of this denial, announced on Dec. 29 that the Interallied Central Commission had just reported proof that Germany had organized a volunteer army of 700,000 men. Germany's reactions to the preliminary allied note of Jan. 5 basing the allied refusal to evacuate the Cologne bridgehead on Jan. 10 on Germany's failure to fulfill the disarmament terms of the Versailles Treaty, and to the passing of that date with the Allies still in control, are described elsewhere in this magazine.

#### OPIUM CONFERENCE

The International Opium Control Conference decided on Dec. 16 to adjourn until Jan. 16, in order that its delegates might have time for reflection,

consultation and a careful study of the perplexing problems which had wrecked their hopes. When the adjournment came there were six votes definitely against the admission to the agenda of the American plan for suppressing the opium traffic; but it was also evident that the American plan had been steadily gaining support since its introduction. The Latin-American States formed a solid bloc behind it, a Cuban delegate had eloquently defended it; and there was reason to believe that it had found favor in the sight of the League Council, which, at President Herluf Zahle's suggestion, had considered it in secret session.

President Coolidge's long-announced plan for another international conference for the further reduction of naval armaments waited on Europe—and there was little to indicate that Europe was likely to be interested in the near future. Having indicated our willingness to take part in the proposed European conference on the control of traffic in arms (not to be confused with a conference on the limitation of armament), the President could only await developments, and hope for a turn of the tide of European public opinion which would make it feasible for him to push his plans. In the meantime, the assertion was made that this country had been left behind in naval equipment, and that even the enactment of the bill providing for construction of eight scout cruisers and six river gunboats, the latter for service in Chinese waters, did not afford much relief if compared with the efforts of certain other major naval powers. The last official tabulation, which did not include the eight new cruisers just authorized, gave to the United States nine such vessels built and one building, as compared to Great Britain with forty-seven built and ten building, a total of fifty-seven, and Japan with eighteen built and ten building. This gave to the United States an actual ratio in light cruiser tonnage of 1.31, Great Britain 5.06 and Japan 3. The French building program was also regarded as elaborate.



## RUSSIA'S POSITION IN THE WORLD

Russia has lost power with the Little Entente, as well as with the larger nations. At the time of the Genoa Conference the Yugoslav Foreign Minister, Momtchilo Nintchitch, was eager to have the Little Entente recognize the Soviet; but on Dec. 19, on his way home from the Conference of the League Council in Rome, he declared that recognition of Russia would be equivalent to recognizing the Third International. It was his opinion that the Soviet Government had virtually ceased to exist and that the far more sinister and internationally dangerous body, the Third International, had taken its place. It certainly had not ceased its international propaganda, as conditions in Paris and Berlin showed. It was also reported that Mongolia had succumbed to these blandishments and had proclaimed itself a part of the Union of Soviet Republics, despite the fact that by the terms of the Chinese-Russian treaty of March, 1924, the Bolsheviki recognized Chinese sovereignty in Mongolia.

## INTERALLIED DEBTS

The British Government on Nov. 9, 1924, sent to the United States Government a note explaining London's unwillingness to agree that the United States might collect war damage claims against Germany out of what the Reparation Commission obtained through the Dawes plan. Generally speaking, Mr. Chamberlain's contention was that America, having made a separate treaty with Germany, had no legal right to collect her debts under another treaty to which she was not a party, namely, the Treaty of Versailles. He also argued that until the United States followed the example of the Allies and used sequestered German property within her own borders to pay the claims of her nationals against Germany, she could not fairly expect to share in the German payments. He even went further and reasoned that, under the Wilson-Lloyd George agreement, the United States was under obligation to pay into the general reparation fund the

value of German shipping seized by her in excess of losses. The shipping seized was several times the value of what the United States lost, argued Mr. Chamberlain, and yet none of it was paid into that fund.

Secretary Hughes's answer, made public on Dec. 12, argued that America had every right accorded to the allied and associated powers to make its collections from Germany under the Dawes plan.

Meanwhile, the French Ambassador and Secretary Mellon, as Chairman of the World War Debt Funding Commission, had entered informally upon the discussion of the question of funding the French wartime debt to the United States. The American Government had tacitly assumed that the agreement already reached with Great Britain concerning the funding of her wartime debt to the United States was a closed incident, not to be affected by any agreement reached with France. At the time when this agreement was made, British statesmen sought to include therein a proviso for a revision if easier terms should later be granted to other nations owing war debts to the United States, but no such proviso was inserted.

On Dec. 10, however, Chancellor of the Exchequer Churchill declared in the House of Commons that "any payment made by our [British] debtors in Europe to their creditors in the United States should be accompanied simultaneously *pari passu* by proportionate payment to Britain," and he coupled this statement with reference to the debt negotiations between France and the United States.

Sir John Simon followed with this statement: "It is an intolerable situation that, after we have undertaken to repay the money which has been really borrowed for our Continental allies, there is to be an adjustment between America and France, and that the British should have no say in the matter." After this debate it was generally assumed that the question of allied debts would be raised at the January conference in Paris of allied



Finance Ministers. It was felt that the Dawes scheme was so closely interwoven with the question of allied debts that the two questions would naturally come before a conference called to consider the working of the Dawes plan.

In France it was recalled that Premier Baldwin neither consulted France nor informed her before negotiating with America the British agreement for funding wartime debts. Why, therefore, they asked, should Great Britain interest herself in the Franco-American negotiations? Certainly, they argued, the United States could not be denied the right to grant France more favorable terms than she granted Great Britain. In England, it was argued that to allow America to make her own terms with her European debtors would be in effect to allow her the position of the preferred creditor. As between two great nations like France and Great Britain, it was asked, how could there be just discrimination? In the United States there was not a little support for the British position. On Dec. 16, Congressman Crisp of Georgia, a Democratic member of the World War Debt Funding Commission, declared in the House: "England is in no way interfering or attempting to interfere with the settlement of the indebtedness France owes the United States. She simply wants to have her own indebtedness also settled, and I do not think she is blamable in the least for pursuing that course." Representative Burton of Ohio, another member of the Debt Commission, heartily supported the contention.

A Paris dispatch on Dec. 17 announced that France would make an effort to settle her terms with England before following up the question of an American adjustment; and the next day Washington declared that the United States would insist upon equal treatment with Great Britain, whatever the terms agreed upon might be. Following statements made in this country by retiring Ambassador Jusserand to the effect that France believed herself entitled to especial clemency in

arrangement for the payment of this debt, M. Clémentel, Minister of Finance, issued a statement on Dec. 26 reviewing the budget situation and declaring that France could not consider pledging regular annuities for the benefit of Britain and America until reconstruction should have been completed and heavy reparation payments had been received from Germany. The French debt to the United States was set at \$2,933,655,000 plus some \$650,000,000 interest, and that to Britain at £445,000,000 plus £174,000,000 interest, "but," added M. Clémentel, "this technical exposition of the elements which constitute our debt to the United States and Britain, does not seem sufficient to justify a gross addition to our liabilities of the sums which it seems to present." He therefore omitted them from the list of the regular outstanding obligations of the French Government, and suggested that sacrifices in blood for the allied cause should be allowed to weigh against sacrifices in money, and that "strict justice would seem to demand a general pooling of war expenses and their allotment among the Allied States proportionately to the riches of each, and without taking count of the particular engagements of the moment imposed." There followed, of course, the suspicion that France was contemplating some method of repudiating her American debts, a suspicion which found an echo in Colonel Harvey's paper, *The Washington Post*, of Dec. 28, and in Congressional debates on Dec. 29. These suggestions France promptly and unequivocally denounced, and announcements were made from Paris that Premier Herriot had assured United States Ambassador Herrick that France had no intention of repudiating her war debts. On Jan. 2, however, M. Clémentel, the French Minister of Finance, suggested to the United States that France was in need of a moratorium of ten years, and proposed that the debt be spread out over a period of ninety years, including the proposed moratorium, with interest at one-half of 1 per cent. On the same day it was announced that



the conference of allied Finance Ministers called to make a division of the annuities under the Dawes plan would convene on Jan. 7. Before the conference assembled Great Britain offered to submit the question of American participation in the Dawes annuities for the payment of her war damages against Germany to an arbitration which all parties should agree in advance to accept as final. This proposal Secretary Hughes refused on Jan. 5.

The conference opened at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Jan. 7, the United States being represented by Myron T. Herrick, Ambassador to France; Frank B. Kellogg, Ambassador to Great Britain, and Colonel James A. Logan, all of whom understood that they were not at liberty to take part in any discussion involving the consideration of the allied debts to America, for the State Department had made it quite clear that this was not a subject which it considered within the competency of any international conference.

After the first formal meeting of the conference, which arranged the agenda and appointed the committees, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer took steps indicating a desire to reach an early settlement with the United States regarding the claim for the collection of damage awards against Germany out of the proceeds of the Dawes annuities. It was for this purpose that Mr. Churchill invited Colonel Logan to call at the British Embassy to find a way toward an agreement. The negotiations, which they decided to carry on outside the main conference, progressed so satisfactorily that on Jan. 10 it was announced by Mr. Churchill and confirmed by Colonel Logan that an agreement had been reached under which Great Britain granted the American demand. Inasmuch as France, Italy, Belgium and Japan had previously agreed to this de-

mand, it was expected that acceptance by the Allies collectively would follow. The agreement did not raise the issue of the legality of the provisions of the Berlin treaty giving the United States the reparation rights she would have had under the Versailles Treaty. The basis on which the American claim was granted was that of equity.

The agreement provided that, instead of collecting the cost of the army of occupation in twelve annual payments of \$20,000,000, it would be collected in twenty-four annual payments of \$10,000,000. Priority was to be retained for this part of the claim as provided for by the Wadsworth agreement. But there was to be no priority for the \$350,000,000 damage award claim, as the United States would share the risk with the Allies in receiving a percentage of German mark payments into the allied reparations account over a period of forty years without interest. It was understood that the American claims would be reduced by the value of whatever German sequestered property was held in America and that full sharing by the United States would begin in two years. The fact that America's percentage would be arranged by reduction of the Belgian percentage did not mean that she would be paid at the expense of Belgium alone, since the expense fell on all the Allies. Under the Spa arrangement Belgium was allowed 8 per cent. until her priority right to 2,500,000,000 gold marks had been met. It was understood that thereafter the Belgian share would be reduced. The priority of Belgium would end in two more years and the extra percentage resulting from the automatic decrease of her share would be used to meet the American payments. Thus the burden of paying the American claims against Germany would fall on all Allies in proportion to their share in German reparations.

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## Deaths of Persons of Prominence

EDMUND DENE MOREL, Labor member of the British House of Commons and authority on foreign affairs, at Teignmouth, England, Nov. 13, aged 52.

T. FRANK APPLEYBY, Representative-elect of Asbury Park, N. J., at Baltimore, Md., Dec. 15, aged 60.

T. FRANK APPLEYBY, Representative-elect, of Ohio, at Columbus, Ohio, Dec. 17, aged 81.

SIR WILLIAM INGRAM, Managing Director of The Illustrated London News and The Sketch, in London, Dec. 18, aged 77.

JULIUS KAHN, for twenty-four years Representative in Congress from the Fourth California District, at San Francisco, Cal., Dec. 18, aged 63.

SIR GEORGE WILLIAM BUCHANAN, British diplomat and former Ambassador to Rome and Petrograd, in London, Dec. 20, aged 70.

DR. OTTO R. EICHEL, American statistician and Chief of the Epidemiological Intelligence and Statistics Section of the League of Nations, at Geneva, Dec. 24.

DR. GEORGE DOWNING LIVEING, President of

St. John's College, Cambridge, and noted chemist, at Cambridge, Eng., Dec. 26, aged 97.

LEON BAKST, Russian painter and stage designer, in Paris, France, Dec. 27, aged 57.

WILLIAM ARCHER, British dramatic critic, in London, Dec. 27, aged 68.

A. HENRY SAVAGE LANDOR, British artist and explorer, and grandson of Walter Savage Landor, at Florence, Italy, Dec. 28.

CARL FRIEDRICH GEORG SPITTELER, Swiss poet and essayist, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1919, at Lucerne, Dec. 29, aged 79.

SIR WILLIAM EMERSON, British architect, who designed the Victoria Memorial Hall in Calcutta, at the Isle of Wight, England, Dec. 29, aged 81.

SIR FRANCIS CARRUTHERS GOULD, British cartoonist, at London, Jan. 1, aged 80. Before studying art, he was a member of the London Stock Exchange for twenty years.

DR. ERNST BUMM, German obstetrician and Professor of Gynecology at Berlin University, at Munich, Jan. 3, aged 67.

GEORGE WESLEY BELLOWES, American painter, at New York, N. Y., Jan. 8, aged 42.

